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TELEVISION AND SOCIAL CLASS

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ABSTRACT ·

A study of the evening programs of the two major television network tele-
vision stations in New York City and of the ten shows with the highest Nielson
ratings confirms earlier reports of low working-class portrayals on television. The
nature of the portrayals of the seven characters which could be identified as
working class was closely studied in terms of occupation, speech, consumption
style, ethnic character, dramatic role, and positive or negative presentation.

In recent years, many content analyses of various mass media have
appeared. While objective descriptions of the media are no substitute
for an investigation of their actual effects upon their audience, they do
provide some useful information. The treatment of workers on television,
for example, can indicate some possible connections between social
stratification and the communications structure. The present study is
a small beginning in this direction in that it presents more details about
working-class portrayals[1] than have been readily available previously.
While the general findings of Dallas W. Smythe[2] on the low frequency
of appearance of workers are supported, additional information is pre-
sented on the content of these performances.

PROCEDURES

Television programs were viewed between December 10-22, 1956,
on Channels 2 and 4, the two leading network stations in New York
City. These two channels, the outlets of the Columbia Broadcasting
System and National Broadcasting Company, respectively, are rated the
two most popular New York channels. The viewing occurred between
the hours of 8 p.m. and 11 p.m., when there is the largest adult audience.
Not all the programs in this three-hour period were observed, because
many of them (e.g., variety shows, mysteries, comedy shows) would be
unlikely to portray workers. In order to get a wider sampling of pro-

grams, the top 10 shows by Nielson ratings were added since some of them were not presented on Channels 2 and 4. These shows were:

1. "I Love Lucy"—comedy show
2. "General Electric Theater"—dramatic presentations
3. "Ed Sullivan Show"—variety
4. "Alfred Hitchcock"—mystery theatre
5. "$64,000 Question"—quiz program
6. "December Bride"—comedy program
7. "Arthur Godfrey Show"—variety
8. "Perry Como Show"—variety
9. "Jack Benny Show"—comedy
10. "Gunsmoke"—Western

In all, 26 programs, totaling 21 hours of television time, were rated. Of these 26 programs, 10 were the top Nielson shows. The remaining 16 programs were mainly drawn from drama and quiz shows. It should be noted that the top ten programs studied did include programs that would have been excluded if the criterion of likelihood of the presence of working-class characters was employed with this group of programs.

Each of the dramatic programs was rated by two persons on the following basis: (1) type of program, (2) number of and names of characters, (3) occupations of characters, (4) number of working-class characters, (5) consumption style of working-class characters, (6) speech style of working-class characters, (7) roles performed by working-class characters, (8) ethnic group of working-class characters, (9) characters who seem working class or are marginally working class, and (10) nature of portrayal of working-class characters.

The classification of characters into working or nonworking class was not always easy. Primarily, occupation was used as the criterion. All those identified as in manual or factory occupations were categorized as workers. In one case, where occupation was not specified, a character was classified working class on the basis of consumption style—clothes

TABLE I

FREQUENCY OF CHARACTERS IN DIFFERENT CLASSES,
NONQUIZ SHOWS

Class Position	N	Percentage of All Characters
Upper Class	11	9
Middle Class	76	62
Working Class	7	6
Historical Group	28	23
	122	100

and living conditions—and speech. Occupation and style of life were also used in identifying characters as middle class or upper class.

Of the 26 programs, 18.2 per cent had working-class characters. In the 18 nonquiz programs, there were 122 characters, of whom only 6 per cent were working class; upper-class characters outnumbered the working-class ones can be seen in Table I.

The historical characters include those in Western shows (the bulk of the category) as well as others of pre-World War I periods. They cannot be easily class typed, and, if they are excluded from the data, the percentage of working-class characters increases by one percentage point. In the following table, the upper- and middle-class groups are combined, and the historical characters are excluded.

TABLE II

FREQUENCY OF CHARACTERS IN DIFFERENT CLASSES, NONQUIZ SHOWS—HISTORICAL CHARACTERS EXCLUDED

Class Position	N	Percentage of All Characters
Upper and middle	87	93
Working	7	7
	94	100

Eight quiz shows were viewed. Of the 45 persons who appeared on these programs as contestants or panelists, not one seemed to have a working-class status. The majority were either white-collar professionals or show people, even when the panelists were excluded.

Of the top ten programs according to Nielson ratings, only one show ("I Love Lucy") had a working-class character, and he was an extra shown in a negative light. In the following section, we shall present additional information on the nature of the portrayals.

TREATMENT OF WORKERS

Of the seven working-class characters found on the nonquiz programs, it was possible to identify the following occupations: dock worker, factory worker, migratory worker, gardener, counterman-waiter, and bellhop. The latter two as service occupations are marginal to the working-class classification. All of the working-class characters were males.

In Table III, varied aspects of these seven characters are presented. Speech and consumption style were appraised in terms of the impressions that were apparently intended. The speech pattern was considered to be middle class or nonworking class, when the words employed were fairly uncommon or the manner of delivery was refined or polished; a hesitation in speech, limited vocabulary, mumbling and stumbling and generally unpolished and ungrammatical speech were interpreted as attempting to convey working-class speech patterns. Where the consumption style involved "House Beautiful" residences or gray flannel suits, it was recorded as middle class; slum-type residences, work clothes or dirty clothes were coded as working class.

The characters were also classified by the nature of the portrayal. The question asked was whether the character was presented in a positive or negative light.

TABLE III

OTHER ASPECTS OF THE WORKING-CLASS CHARACTERS

Character Occupation	Speech	Consumption Style*	Ethnic Character	Dramatic Role	Portrayal
1. Dock Worker	crude	W.C.	Irish	Protagonist	positive
2. Factory Worker	slang	M.C.	?	Supporting	negative
3. Migratory Worker	slurred	W.C.	Irish	Protagonist	negative to postive
4. Gardener	Spanish accent	W.C.	Spanish	Comic Protagonist	negative to postive
5. Waiter	accent	M.C.	Jewish	Minor	neutral
6. Bellhop	Brooklynese	?	?	Minor	negative
7. Not specified	?	W.C.	?	Extra	negative

* W.C.—working class; M.C.—middle class

Five characters have working-class speech patterns, one a middle-class pattern, and one character's pattern was not classifiable. The consumption style patterns were similar: four characters seemed to be working class, two middle class, and one unclear. In the four cases where ethnic group could be identified, Roman Catholic backgrounds predominated. The working-class characters had fairly important roles, for three were protagonists. The character with the middle-class speech pattern was

consistently presented in a positive light. Three were consistently nega-
tively portrayed, and in two cases an initial negative presentation con-
cluded on a positive note. How this situation compares with the treat-
ment of middle-class characters we do not know.

The nature of the portrayals are interesting to study in greater detail.
In "I Love Lucy," a comedy show, Lucy is in a subway and cannot see
because of a trophy stuck on her head. She gives money to a man in
work clothes so that he can make a phone call for her. He takes all the
money and leaves her stranded. On "Playhouse 90," a drama show,
a bellhop with a Brooklyn accent works closely with confidence men and
ne'er-do-wells. In "The Human Patter," a drama, the waiter is stupid
and simple-minded. The migrant worker in "Noah's Ark" is a drunkard.
The factory worker in "Divorcees Anonymous" is vehemently against
spending money, even for the necessities of life; he does not know how
to handle money and argues with his wife about the bills. In "Father
Knows Best," the gardener is ignorant about simple business matters
and procedures; his impracticality makes him the butt of jokes. The
dock worker is an ex-convict, owing to an accident of fate, and has a
fast temper. He reforms himself, however, and makes a new life with
his girl friend. Other characters are able to make positive changes: the
factory worker attempts to understand his wife and his problems; the
migratory worker finds a steady job and settles down.

The ending of a portrayal on a positive note, it should be observed,
does not necessarily mean that the initial negative impression upon the
audience is overcome. Where there are negative attitudes toward work-
ing-class and lower-class people and a confusion between the two—
outlooks with wide currency, we believe—negative portrayals are easily
assimilated by the viewer as they fit into his attitudinal set. The apparent
realism to some of working-class thieves and drunkards may not be
brought into question when a working-class character finally engages in
positive behavior after having been portrayed in these negative ways.
We feel, consequently, that the gross tendency of these portrayals is
mainly to convey negative images of working-class individuals.

CONCLUSION

Working-class characters are but a small percentage of the characters
seen on the television programs monitored in this study. Middle-class
characters dominate the home screen. The few characters with working-
class status are seen mainly in melodramas. The portrayals are mixed:

while negative characteristics often dominate at the beginning of a characterization, by the end of the program as many of the characters are presented positively as negatively. The impact is, however, mainly negative, in our opinion.

We believe that the results of this investigation are not untypical of all evening television programs. The description of the situation fails to explain why working-class characters are few in number or the effects of this situation upon the audience in general and working-class people in particular. Both of these issues are important although unstudied, and would provide insight into the structure of the communication industry with its necessity for a mass audience affecting the choice of scripts and characters,[3] the occupational roles and social outlook and experience of those who write scripts or pass on them, and the class-differentiated impact of programs designed to attract the largest buying audience.

FOOTNOTES

[1] By "workers" we refer to regular members of the labor force in non-agricultural, nonwhite-collar employee positions. While there is a tendency to label this grouping "lower class," this practice tends to confuse those who occasionally work and those in illegitimate or fringe activities (the true "lower class") with those who regularly are employed in manual occupations. We will, therefore, utilize terms like "workers," "working class" in order to indicate our interest in a particular occupational segment. For a discussion of the confusion of lower class and working class, see S. M. Miller and Frank Riessman, "Images of Workers," forthcoming.

[2] Dallas W. Smythe, "Reality As Presented by Television," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 18 (Summer, 1954): pp. 143-56. Smythe writes (p. 152) that "Television reflects a culture which values highly managerial and service activities and rates low physical production work."

[3] Ernest Van der Hagh, in David M. White and Bernard Rosenberg, eds., *Mass Culture* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957).

COMMUNITY COORDINATING COUNCILS
AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

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ABSTRACT

Coordinating councils stress cooperation, coordination, studies, planning, education, and democratic action. Being composed chiefly of representatives of public and private agencies and institutions, they are designed to coordinate local efforts to deal with cases of behavior and personality problems, to provide services for children and youth with special needs, to improve community-wide services, and to make communities better places in which to live.

Coordinating councils, especially as they have developed in California, with emphasis on local cooperation and coordination of effort, are composed chiefly of representatives of governmental departments, private social agencies, social institutions, civic organizations, and leading citizens. The purposes include the promotion of cooperation among the various groups represented, coordination of various undertakings, studies of conditions and resources, education of the general public regarding conditions to be improved and programs to be undertaken, and democratic action in meeting local needs.

The coordinating council is a type of community organization which has its roots in the remote past and is the product of a variety of social forces. In the developmental aspects the various types of community organizations may be regarded as phases of an ongoing social movement. While social movements vary in detail, they have the common purpose of improving conditions. Each movement is designed to improve a given situation. Modern social movements differ somewhat from earlier ones in outlook and magnitude. The dynamic approach to social problems views society as an ongoing process capable of making adjustments to new situations and of solving emerging problems. New goals are established and accommodations are made to changing conditions. This does not mean that there is no disorganization, but it is believed that the community or society is capable of affecting reorganization and of bringing about solutions of emerging problems. Social control in a dynamic society requires a flexible system of problem-solving mechanisms.

A social movement may be thought of as a "series of events involving adjustments to social situations, connected by a cause and effect relation, extending over a period of time and expanding in space, and disclosing stages, transitions, and tendencies that are correlated with the changing conception of its function and indicative of its evolution."[1] It may not be possible to always discern clearly differentiated stages and transitions,

but social movements usually grow out of situations that are regarded as unsatisfactory and they get under way when conscious efforts are made to meet the situations, followed by other attempts, making for an expansion of undertakings. As movements progress, various goals are set up and mechanisms are established to achieve the objectives.

The community coordinating council movement, as a form of community organization, is designed to meet local situations through coordinated efforts on the part of institutions, agencies, and other groups functioning on a local level. Even though clearly differentiated stages may not be discernible, as the movement has progressed certain transitions and trends have emerged. Its origin, especially with respect to its emphasis on local organization and coordination, can be traced to earlier developments in community organization.

The development of charity organizations, united fund raising (community chests), and councils of social agencies, especially the formation of the larger metropolitan welfare federations and councils, including the provision of professional services to local regions and to area organization, provided examples of large-scale cooperation and welfare services.[2] Local neighborhood and community organizations likewise had historical roots and varied somewhat in objectives and scope of operation. Some concentrated mainly on meeting specific needs, such as recreation facilities and programs,[3] whereas others had broader objectives. Some were school-centered and sponsored or promoted through extension services of state universities, while others were sponsored by other public agencies or regional organizations, and some were organized locally without sponsorship. World War I added a new impetus to community organization. The Council of National Defense, ably supported by Woodrow Wilson, promoted state and local organizations in the interest of defense.[4] Following World War I there were changes, and in some areas a decline, in community organization, but the economic depression of the 1930's and World War II stimulated anew various types of local as well as state and national organizations.

The community coordinating council movement in California is usually traced to the Berkeley Coordinating Council, which was organized in 1919 by Virgil Dickson, then Director of the Bureau of Research and Guidance and later Superintendent of the Berkeley Schools, and August Vollmer, then Chief of Police of Berkeley, later Professor of Police Administration at the University of California. The council was formed to bring about cooperation of official agencies interested in social welfare, with the focus of attention on youth problems. Delinquency and crime control became one of its main functions. Vollmer strongly believed that

the "most powerful deterrent to delinquency and crime is found in the coordinated effort of all constructive forces in the community, as exemplified in coordinating councils. No other method has as great a chance of actually attacking this problem with success as that employed by this movement."[5] This emphasis on delinquency prevention has influenced the subsequent development of coordinating councils.

It was not until the California Commission for the Study of Problem Children (1927-1931) made an appraisal of the Berkeley Coordinating Council and recommended its extension that other communities formed councils. In 1930, San Francisco organized a central council of official representatives of governmental departments and the community chest agencies and formed eleven district councils to function on the local level. During the same year, the Los Angeles Research Council was formed, composed chiefly of representatives of county and city government departments and several private organizations.

Shortly after Kenyon J. Scudder was appointed Chief Probation Officer of Los Angeles County in 1931, coordinating councils were formed in the county and the movement received a new impetus. He strongly believed that local councils, such as the one at Berkeley, provided an effective means of meeting the needs of children and youth, with delinquency control as one of its main objectives. Councils were conceived of as a town meeting type of organization, bringing people together to discuss common problems. Negotiations for the formation of a local council in Whittier were started in 1931, and the first council was established in 1932. Within a few years over fifty councils were in existence in the county. By 1938, there were one hundred and twenty-six in the state, of which seventy-four were in Los Angeles County, according to a state-wide study of the movement by Kenneth S. Beam for the State Superintendent of Education.[6] A similar survey by the National Probation Association revealed nearly six hundred councils of various types in existence throughout the United States.

Coordinating Councils, Incorporated, was organized in 1938, with funds provided by the Rosenberg Foundation, as a center of information for the coordinating council movement. Its publications included *Community Coordination* (a bimonthly bulletin) and *A Guide to Community Organization* (1941). Two other developments augmented the movement in the state. The California Youth Authority, established in 1942, has been an effective government agency to encourage coordinating councils as a part of its program of activities. It has published guides for council organization and articles on the subject in the *California Youth Authority Quarterly*. California Community Councils is a statewide organization of leaders. It publishes a bimonthly *Newsletter*.

The development of community coordinating councils in Los Angeles County, which is used in this article as a major example of the council movement and source of information, cannot be fully understood without a review of the county-wide organizations that played a part in its progress.[7] The Executive Board of the coordinating councils was organized in 1934, composed mainly of the members of the Los Angeles Research Council, which it supplanted, and representatives from local councils. In 1946, the Los Angeles County Federation of Community Coordinating Councils was formed, which was an expansion of the Executive Board. At present, the membership of the Federation is composed of ninety-five presidents or other delegates of local councils and area associations, thirty-four ex-officio members, twenty-nine members of the Cabinet, twenty-four life members, and eight members at large. It has a president, five vice-presidents, a secretary, and a treasurer, and such standing committees as: Case Conference and Research, Family Life and Community Values, Education, Health and Mental Hygiene, Safety, and Youth Employment. The cooperating agencies include the Board of Supervisors, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce, Los Angeles County Commission on Human Relations, the County Federation of Labor (AFL and CIO), the County Youth Committee, and the First, Tenth, Thirty-first, and Thirty-third districts of the PTA. There are also liaison representatives from the California Youth Authority and the Metropolitan Recreation and Youth Services Council. Through annual conferences, regional meetings, workshops, committee and cabinet meetings, and publications this organization performs a variety of functions essential to the movement.

From the very beginning, coordinating councils in Los Angeles County have been sponsored and encouraged by the county government. Shortly after Kenyon J. Scudder became Chief Probation Officer, he established a special division in the Department and appointed Kenneth S. Beam as Director of Community Coordinating Councils. For nearly a quarter of a century, the Probation Department was the main organization to supervise the activities of coordinating councils, as well as other developments in delinquency control and youth services. Several other organizations were made a part of the Probation Department. Though independent units, their functions were integrated with the coordinating council movement and performed functions to make communities better places in which to live. The Committee on Church and Community was formed in 1936 by the Board of Supervisors, with Dr. George Gleason as Coordinator. Toy Loan Centers were organized in numerous communities, often at the request of local councils. The Central Juvenile Index

was started in 1942, also as a unit of the Department, but participated in by all law enforcement agencies. The Index is now in the Sheriff's Office, but with seventy agencies participating. It acts as a clearing center for delinquency cases handled by the law enforcement agencies. Following the Zoot Suit Riots in 1944, the Committee on Human Relations was formed to deal with the intricate problems of human relations, especially in areas of ethnic and intercultural conflicts. Three years ago the Committee became a separate Commission on Human Relations, but its operations are closely tied in with coordinating councils. In 1942, the County Youth Committee was formed as a separate unit of government, composed largely of executives of county and city departments of government, to make studies of county-wide problems pertaining to youth and to advise members regarding them.

In 1955, the Department of Community Services was formed as a separate unit of government to bring together the positive forces in the county through cooperative study, planning, and action to deal especially with the problem of juvenile delinquency and adult crime. At that time various nonmandatory functions of the Probation Department were transferred to this new Department. It is now the chief county-wide organization sponsoring coordinating councils. Through its Community Resources Division it provides staff services to the Federation of Community Coordinating Councils, the area organizations, the local councils, and other agencies and groups. The Community Consultants, as the staff members are called, provide advisory service and guidance to local and area council leaders. Through the Youth Services Division it provides staff services to the County Youth Committee, the Youth Council, the Federation Case Conference Committee, and special services to other youth agencies. The Department publishes *The Coordinator* and various manuals, bulletins, reports, and guides.

As indicated in the manuals and various other publications, community coordinating councils stress cooperation, coordination, studies, education, and democratic action. Planning is an integral part of most of the programs of activities. A council, as originally planned, is not just another agency or organization in the community. It is fundamentally a clearing center and affords opportunities for people, especially the leaders, to understand and support each other's programs. It has been considered unwise for councils to sponsor projects beyond the period when they could be undertaken by member agencies or by new departments or organizations, whether public or private. Its main function is to coordinate programs of services and to bring about united action in meeting local needs. However, some councils have continued certain functions over a

period of years. Even though local councils are autonomous and differ somewhat in organization and functions, they elect officers and appoint standing and special committees, usually annually. The committee structure follows somewhat the pattern set by the Federation, with its standing committees as indicated earlier. Councils have formed case conferences and research committees to deal with individual cases and to make special studies, and committees concerned with the improvement of family life, community values, education, recreation, health, safety, youth employment, and various other forms of youth services and community betterment.

In view of the variety of undertakings, the changing conditions that call for new types of activities, it is difficult to classify common types of activities, projects, and accomplishments. The functions performed depend upon the leadership, the organization, the changing needs, and many other variables. However, certain major types of functions and accomplishments may be outlined, especially activities that have been carried on by many councils over a period of time.

The early detection and referral of cases with personality and behavior problems have been one of the major types of undertakings of councils. Originally, such committees were designated "research-adjustment," but more recently they have been organized as case conference and research committees. If special studies are made, appropriate committees are appointed to undertake them. The case conferences, both county and local or regional, are concerned with the discovery, examination, and referral of children exhibiting behavior and personality problems.[8] An analysis of fifty-five case conference committees serving seventy-six communities indicates that they have representatives from over fifteen different agencies, principally schools, law enforcement, public assistance, guidance and counseling, recreation, and youth-serving. The professional staffs of these agencies presented over a thousand cases during the past year, together with available information about them, for the purpose of mapping out programs of treatment. The treatment itself is carried out by member agencies. Periodic surveys and studies are made of available resources, the need for additional facilities, and to determine new programs of activities. Improvement of facilities for referral and treatment purposes is of particular importance.

Provision of services for children and youth with special needs includes camperships for underprivileged children, health and mental hygiene projects, rehabilitation of juvenile court wards, the sponsorship of unsponsored groups, and the control of gangs, especially delinquent gang members. During recent years over five hundred camperships per year

have been provided in the county for underprivileged children who otherwise could not have gone to organized camps operated by various agencies and institutions. During the past year, nearly every council has devoted one general meeting to a discussion of mental hygiene problems, resources, and special needs. The procedure followed by a number of councils in providing clinical and/or counseling and guidance services, especially for individuals and families with mental health or other special problems, usually has involved the following stages: (1) study of the extent of the problem and need, (2) mapping out of plans for obtaining money for clinical or counseling services, (3) obtaining of the necessary funds, (4) establishment of new services, and (5) evaluation of the project, usually after a year of operation, to determine future developments.

Generalized programs for youth include the promotion of group work and the strengthening of group work agencies, the expansion of recreation facilities and programs, the creation of youth councils, youth employment (summer employment, in particular), recognition programs (awards, youth of the month), and preparation for special occasions (Halloween, Easter vacationing in beach towns, and school graduation). Local councils have made numerous studies of the recreation interests and needs of juveniles, the facilities and programs for them in the community, plans of action to improve facilities and services, and the subsequent expansion of programs by both public and private departments and agencies.

Information and education have always been regarded as important functions of local councils. These activities include "town meetings" on specific subjects, community education projects (family life conferences, parents' clinics), the publication of various types of directories (officers and members of councils, services for youth, also for senior citizens), calendars of events, library and school projects, the implementation of *White House Conference Recommendations*, and special publications, such as *Community Values Project, Building a Good Youth Employment Program, Los Angeles City Laws for Youth, Family Life Handbook*, and *14 Points for Delinquency Prevention* (by the Governor's Advisory Committe on Children and Youth, 1959).

Councils have undertaken various kinds of special projects, some fairly general and others more specific, depending upon local needs. These include the promotion of social legislation (county and city ordinances), improvement of human relations, safety (driver's education, car clubs, bicycle licenses), better street lighting and eliminating hazards, clean-up projects and beautification of communities, control of obscene and pornographic literature, control of narcotics and liquor consumption by youth, promotion of activities and services for senior citizens, and the com-

munity values project. The community values project of the county was
sponsored by the coordinating councils to focus attention on the im-
portance of individual and community standards of conduct, with
emphasis on a careful examination of existing codes of conduct and the
relation of adult standards to the conduct of youth. In 1959, the Federa-
tion of Community Coordinating Councils received the George Washing-
ton Honor Medal Award from the Freedom's Foundation at Valley
Forge for the community values program, also the *Laws for Youth*, as
an outstanding achievement in furthering a better understanding of the
American Way of Life.

Various studies of the organization, process, procedures, and success
or failure of coordinating councils have been made.[9] These, together with
periodic appraisal of council work, have revealed at least eight essentials
for successful operation of councils. (1) Leadership is one of the most
important essentials of community organization work. The personality
of leaders, their status is the community, and their ability to enlist co-
operation and to stimulate action are key elements in council work.
(2) The membership composition, including representatives from the
major public and private agencies and institutions, also a balance of
professional lay members, likewise is essential. (3) The organizational
structure of a council, with clearly defined functions of officers and
committees, and a good working relationship among the members con-
tribute to success. (4) Fact-finding is an indispensable prerequisite for
all major programs of endeavor. (5) The education of the public, as
well as the members, regarding needs and projects is necessary for wide
public support. An enlightened membership is important for organiza-
tional work. (6) Councils need to work on important problems and
projects, based on sound research and effective planning. (7) Regional
sponsorship and extensive use of community consultants have been major
factors in the continuous operation of coordinating councils in Los
Angeles County. (8) The type of community or area has an important
relationship to council success or failure, as Mezirow found. Communi-
ties were differentiated in terms of population size, social rank, degree
of urbanization, and population mobility. For measurement of council
effectiveness, a nine-point rating instrument was applied to seventy-six
councils that had been in existence for at least five years. Many of them
had achieved a relatively high degree of success, according to the rating
system used, in communities of almost every combination of the four
variables, but statistically significant relationship was found between the
most successful councils and the larger communities with high social
rank and urbanization. Communities with low social rank, especially

with slum conditions, are most difficult for councils to succeed in, yet about half of the councils in such areas managed to survive in spite of difficulties.

The studies thus far have indicated the importance of research and that the coordinating council movement is a fruitful field for social research. The groundwork has been laid for more comprehensive studies of coordinating councils as a form of community organization. This field also offers occupational opportunities for professionally trained personnel.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Cf. Martin H. and Esther S. Neumeyer, *Leisure and Recreation* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1958), p. 62.

[2] For brief descriptions of community organization developments, consult a recent edition of *Social Work Year Book* (New York: National Association of Social Workers). Numerous books and articles on community organization, urban and rural, and welfare agencies have been published.

[3] Cf. Clarence E. Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922).

[4] For a summary of the publications designed to promote and guide the numerous local councils, see Edward L. Burchard, *Organization of the Community Councils by the Federal Government During World War I* (typed copy in the University of Southern California Library, 1942).

[5] *Community Coordination* (published by Coordinating Councils, Inc., 1949).

[6] *Coordinating Councils in California* (Sacramento: State of California Department of Education Bulletin, September, 1938).

[7] The data for this section were derived from material published by various agencies, much of which is in mimeographed form. For a review of these organizations, consult especially the report of a comparative study of *Los Angeles and the New York Youth Board* (Los Angeles Welfare Planning Council, February, 1960).

[8] Cf. *Organization and Procedure of Case Conference Committees*, a manual prepared by a committee of the Federation and the Department of Community Services, August, 1960; and *Case Conference Committee in Action*, September, 1960.

[9] Cf. Adelaide Williams, "The Social Consequences of Coordinating Councils" (M.A. thesis, University of California at Los Angeles, 1937); John F. D. Marquardt, "A Study of the Los Angeles County Coordinating Council-Plan, Organization, and Procedure" (M.S.S.W. thesis, University of Southern California, 1938); Esther R. Bradley, "A Study of the Coordinating Council Movement in Los Angeles County, with Particular Emphasis Upon Its Sociological and Educational Implications" (M.A. thesis, Claremont College, 1941); Archie J. Conliffe, "Community Organization Process in the Relationship Between the Council of Social Agencies and the Coordinating Councils in Los Angeles" (M.S.W. thesis, University of Southern California, 1944); Fred O. Ostendorf, "A Comparative Study of Personal and Social Factors Contributing to the Success of Two Community Coordinating Councils" (A.M. thesis, University of Southern California, 1949); and Jack D. Mezirow, "The Coordinating Council Movement in Los Angeles County and Its Implication for Education" (Ed.D. dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 1955). For papers on community typology, analysis, development, action, structure, problems, and change, see: Marvin B. Sussman, editor, *Community Structure and Analysis* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1959), Chapter 15, written by Mezirow, "The Coordinating Council and Urban Demography in Los Angeles County."

A TENTATIVE FOUNDATION
FOR REFERENCE GROUP THEORY*

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ABSTRACT

As a basis for developing a reference group theory, six foundation or base points are presented and discussed. These points result from four general statements and eight propositions of an "if-then" nature that indicate the method of derivation of the base points and also the implications underlying them.

I

An intriguing idea does not make a theory. The central purpose of this paper will be to consider such an idea, much of the value of which has been lost because it has not been advanced as an idea upon which to build a theory, but rather as the theory itself. As an idea it has great promise; in the guise of a theory, it has been a failure.

In recent years, sociologists have devoted much thought to the general idea of reference groups.[1] While some of this thought has appeared in the form of empirical research, much has been concerned with the underlying conceptual framework or "theory," as it has been called. Although sociologists are in the habit of speaking of "reference group theory," it is difficult to determine the elements of this theory. While it is true that a great many statements about reference groups have been made, it seems that to invest these statements with the properties of a theory does violence to the concept of theory.[2] While it is also true that many definite research projects have been accomplished which have employed the general idea of reference groups, and in spite of the many enlightening articles about the concept itself, still the *theory* to which many projects and articles refer seems to be nonexistent.

It is held that the writings about reference groups represent thoughts that are concerned with a general concept but not set forth in the form necessary to allow the term *theory* to be applied. It is further suggested that there may not be enought known about the concept to construct a formal theory involving the concept. Whatever the case, a first step must be taken if a formal theory of reference groups is to be created. This first step is to identify, and to advance certain base points to which the theory may be anchored, upon which it may be constructed. It is held that the foundations or base points have not, as yet, been set forth. Therefore, it is *not* the purpose of this paper to set forth *the* theory of

REFERENCE GROUP THEORY

reference groups, since knowledge attendant to the central concept is not adequately developed to do so. Neither is it the purpose of the paper to set forth *the* basic principles underlying reference group theory, because knowledge is not fully enough developed to place great confidence in any set of principles. Rather, the purpose is to set forth some base points which may be found useful as a foundation upon which to construct a theory.

The materials that will be used to fashion the foundation are drawn from some of the writings concerned with the general subject of reference groups. From these writings, certain common ideas may be abstracted which appear to underly or presuppose the more specific discussions of reference groups. Only the most basic of these ideas have been investigated in this paper in an attempt to determine what is actually implied by their usage. From this investigation, certain interrelationships may be observed. An investigation of the ideas makes possible the advancing of certain principles which seem to be implicit suppositions in some of the writings concerning reference groups. The attempt, here, is to identify explicitly that which has only been implied, Having done so, then the principles may be either accepted or rejected as principles upon which to construct the theory. The advantage of so identifying is, of course, to make possible the understanding of just what is being accepted or rejected.

II

For purpose of clarity, the six base points which are the result of the present research will be set forth immediately and will be followed by the procedures employed to derive them and by a discussion of what is implied by them germane to providing a foundation for a general theory of reference groups.

The six base points are these:

1. Within a structural framework, there are a number of structures which include an indefinite number of individuals and groups. The term "group" is taken to mean: any number of individuals who are perceived to be a unit by virtue of a categorizing variable or complex of variables supplied by the perceiver. This definition of "group" is, perhaps, unique in its usage in conjunction with the term "reference" and, hence, includes such terms as collectivities and categories. (A reference group is that group whose perceived facets constitute a stimulus for certain types of beliefs and actions on the part of the perceiver.) The term "social structure" is taken to be: the combination of a specific status continuum and the norms and roles attendant to that continuum. Critical to the

understanding of social structure is the fact that what it is "in reality" is what it is perceived to be by the individuals participating in it. The term "structural framework" is taken to be: the total number of structures extant in a given conceptual unit. It should be emphasized that in the structural framework the various structures are not necessarily of equal importance to the perceivers. This may be illustrated by observing that two status positions on two continua do not necessarily yield approximately equal positions in the framework, since one structure may be more highly valued by a perceiver than another.

2. The knowledge the perceiver has of these groups is a function of the social situation and of his position in the social structure and the structural framework.

3. The perceptions that the individual has of a group include favorable or unfavorable attitudes toward the group on the part of the perceiver. The type of action and the results of action are, in part, a function of favorable and unfavorable attitudes which have as a further characteristic the property of being normative, comparative, or interactive. The term "normative attitude" is taken to be: a tendency to act in accordance with certain norms of a specific group *because* that group is perceived to have those norms by the perceiver. Evaluation is made by the perceiver of the degree of approximation of his normative behavior to the perceived normative behavior of the group. The prime motivation of the individual for his action in accordance with the norms is to supply evidence that he is a member of the group or is worthy of membership in that group.

The term "comparative attitude" is taken to be: a tendency to act in accordance with or as opposed to certain norms, and then to evaluate the action positively or negatively by virtue of the norms held by a specific group which is viewed positively or negatively by the individual. There is no attempt to prove worthiness for membership in the specific group which serves as the comparative point. The term "interactive attitude" is taken to be: a tendency to act, which is modified by a group that the perceiver perceives as standing between himself and a goal, but which involves neither normative nor comparative attitudes. Absent is the *primary* focus on the specific norms of the group by the individual. Membership in the group is not desired, and group norms are considered only in so far as they must be in order to eliminate any possible blocking of achievement of a goal apart from the group. The individual takes the group into consideration only because it stands in a position between the individual and his goal, but is not a part of that goal.

4. The various perspectives the individual has of the group are situation-determined and constitute frames of reference of groups within

given situations. The frames of reference are then evaluated by the attitudes that include the above-mentioned characteristics within the context of the social situations in which the individual must act.

5. The actions of individuals in a situation are a function of perspectives and attitudes, that is, frames of reference and evaluations of said frames of reference within a social situation.

6. The type and kind of frames of reference and evaluations are a function of the structure and the structural framework.

In order for the six base points to have any meaning and any usefulness, it is necessary to know in what way they were derived and what is implied by them. To this end, their method of derivation and the implications underlying them are advanced.

The base points are based on four general propositions and a series of "if-then" propositions. The general propositions will be considered first.

1. The actions of individuals and groups are a function of social structure and the structural framework.

2. The extent of the knowledge of the influencing structures held by individuals is a function of the structural framework. Knowledge of structures is dependent upon their relationships and positions relative to one another, hence the structural framework.

3. Reference group selection and behavior are a function of the individual's position in the social structure and the structure's position in the structural framework in that the structure and the structural framework determine the character of situations presented to individuals, which situations, in turn, determine the groups that are perceived as important in that situation.

4. Groups that individuals select as referents may be ones of which the individuals are or are not members; may be used for normative, comparative, or interactive purposes; and may have either a favorable or an unfavorable attraction for the individual.

These four propositions form the foundation for a series of "if-then" propositions from the six base points were derived. Whatever limitations there may be to the content and form of the propositions are held to be overshadowed by the advantages derived from the loose web of interrelationships they yield.

1. If there are individuals, then these individuals may be perceived as grouped into various larger units by means of categorizing variables.

2. If there are groups (larger units), then individuals will perceive themselves as either members or not members of them.

3. If individuals perceive themselves as either members or not members of groups, then attitudes that individuals have toward these

groups will be either favorable or unfavorable. It is held that by virtue of the fact that persons perceive themselves as members or not members will result in favorable and unfavorable attitudes toward various groups. This does not necessarily imply favorable attitudes for groups of which the individual perceives himself a member and unfavorable attitudes for those groups of which he does not perceive himself a member.

4. If there are favorable and unfavorable attitudes, then these attitudes will have the further characteristic of being normative, comparative, or interactive.

5. If individuals hold attitudes with these characteristics, then these attitudes will determine which groups will be selected by individuals as referents for their own actions in social situations. This implies that the group selected by the individual as a referent is dependent upon the combination of characteristics of attitudes yielded in a particular social situation.

6. Reference group selection (acting to select) and behavior are a function of knowledge the individual possesses.

7. The individual's knowledge is a function of the social structure. What the individual may know is dependent upon what he perceives and the way he perceives it. This perception-potential is a function of his place in a status hierarchy and the attendant role and norm complexes, hence, the social structure.

8. Structure is a function of the structural framework. This implies that the effects the structure will have upon the individual are a function of the structure's perceived position relative to all other structures, hence, the structure's perceived position in the structural framework.

To this point, six foundation or base points have been advanced which, it is suggested, may prove of value for the construction of a formal theory of reference groups. Further, the method and content employed in deriving these six base points have been indicated. This, then, allows for an understanding of the origin of the base points. However, if they are to have meaning, hence potential value, it is necessary to suggest just what is implied by them. Because of the so-called "tyranny of words" it is possible for one person to advance a set of ideas, but because of misunderstanding of the meaning of the words, the ideas accepted may not in reality be the ideas advanced. Therefore, if the six base points seem as acceptable starting points for the construction of a theory, it is suggested that they are acceptable because they include what will be set forth below, for this is the meaning or the "meat" of the base points.

Within the structural framework, there are an indefinite number of groups and individuals. Dependent upon his position at time t and in space s, the individual may react to groups favorably or unfavorably. In space, s is interpreted as at a particular point on a social structure, which structure occupies a particular position in the structural framework at a given point in time, or at time t. This is a critical part of the problem. Since the individual may occupy any of the infinite number of spatial points in any given time period, his actions and relationships can be understood only if he is fixed in space by a given point in time. Only by fixing both the space and time points can the sociologist deal with the social situation. The social situation may, therefore, be defined as a space-time point. In much sociological research, especially that dealing with the identification of persons in social classes, space is taken as relatively fixed and time is disregarded. The individual is, therefore, designated by a relatively firm, permanent, or "true" space point. Only by considering both space and time and space-time points can the flexible and dynamic quality of the individual be understood. Only in this way can the whole idea of reference groups be understood and be of any use to the sociologist.

The type and effect of the reaction of individuals to groups are dependent upon whether the attitudes related to the group are normative, comparative, or interactive. Accompanying the reactions based upon the above-mentioned attitudes are the perspectives the groups will have for the individual, and these perspectives will constitute the frames of reference with which the groups are endowed by the individual. As was stated earlier, the frames of reference of the groups are not rigid, but are determined by space-time points. Various of these perceived frames of reference may serve as determinants of types of action for the perceiver (again determined by space-time points). Those groups whose frames of reference do so serve may be considered reference groups. Any social situation may involve selected facets of a number of groups. These facets are derived from the perceptions of a group by a perceiver. Dependent upon the perceptual evaluation of the various facets critical in the situation is the selection of the group which will act as a referent for the perceiver in the situation. The individual's behavior in the situation is, then, a function of this selection. In the making of this selection, the determining factor is the individual's perception of the group and the facets of the group critical in the situation. The perception the individual has of these facets, then, represents his knowledge of the unit comprised of the facets. In effect, it constitutes his perception of knowledge. His knowledge is a function of his position in a social structure and the structural framework.

III

It has been suggested that a theory of reference groups does not, as yet, exist. It has been further suggested that, if a formal theory is to be constructed utilizing as its central concept that of the reference group, it must have a foundation. A tentative foundation in the form of six base points has been advanced. It is held that the utilization of these six base points and the previously stated implications of them centering about the concepts of perception, the social situation, social structure, and the structural framework provide the starting point, explicitly stated, for the construction of the complex network of concepts and empirically derived interrelationships which must be a part of reference group theory as theory, not speculation.

If it is shown that other base points may be substituted for the ones herein presented and these allow for a more productive formulation, then they should be substituted. However, at the present time, no foundation in the form of theoretic orientations seems to be stated explicitly. It is with that purpose in mind that the present investigation has been undertaken.

FOOTNOTES

* This paper is an outgrowth of a portion of a dissertation accepted for the Ph.D. degree in 1960 by the Department of Sociology, University of Southern California. The author wishes to express his indebtedness to Professor Edward C. McDonagh, chairman of the dissertation committee.

[1] See for examples: S. M. Eisenstadt, "Reference Group Behavior and Social Integration: An Explorative Study," *American Sociological Review*, 19:175-85, and "Studies in Reference Group Behavior," *Human Relations*, 7:191-216; Herbert H. Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 269, 1942; Harold H. Kelley, "The Two Functions of Reference Group Theory," *Readings in Social Psychology*, edited by Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1952); Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1957); Bernard C. Rosen, "The Reference Group Approach to the Parental Factors in Attitude and Behavior Formation," *Social Forces*, 34:137-44; Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, 60:562-69; Ralph H. Turner, "Reference Groups of Future Oriented Men," *Social Forces*, 34:130-36, and "Role Taking, Role Standpoint, and Reference Group Behavior," *American Journal of Sociology*, 61:316-28.

[2] See for example: Norman R. Campbell, "The Structure of Theories," *Readings in the Philosophy of Science*, edited by Herbert Feigl and May Brodbeck (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953) pp. 288-308; Hans L. Zetterberg, *On Theory and Verification in Sociology* (New York: The Tressler Press, 1954). The lack of precision of words used by sociologists makes it imperative that the theories be as rigorously formulated as possible. Lack of rigor in theories only compounds the problem of precision.

FAMILY PATTERNS, ACHIEVEMENTS, AND ASPIRATIONS OF URBAN NEGROES*

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ABSTRACT

This research project involved a study of 100 Negro families in New Orleans. The purpose of this particular phase of the study was twofold: to ascertain family patterns and change in family patterns over a two-generational time span; to ascertain whether or not differing types of family patterns were indicative of differing adult performances, of expectations for children's performances, of family members in other social groups.

This study was designed to ascertain types of family organization among Negroes living in a southern urban area and to explore the achievements and aspirations of family members from these various types.

Research in the general area of culture and personality of the American Negro is plentiful. Two studies are of particular relevance to this one: Allison Davis and John Dollard's *Children of Bondage*, and John Rohrer and Munro Edmonson's *The Eighth Generation*.[1] Davis and Dollard were particularly interested in the social milieu in which Negro children learn culturally patterned behavior, and they found class and caste to be crucial factors in this learning. They found, further, in their intensive interviews with 76 Negro teen-agers in New Orleans in 1938-1939, that class was much more crucial as a formative influence than caste.

Rohrer and Edmonson, questioning the exhaustiveness of the class-caste dichotomy, studied the problem through a close inspection of family structure. For, they reasoned, it is principally within the family that the individual undergoes his first social experiences; and, if there are among Negroes strongly shared patterns of family life, these patterns should then have a uniform impact upon the psychology of all Negroes as a socially defined race-caste. Such social experiences as Negroes might share in early family life would be relatively free from the modifications that come with the later learning of sex roles, occupations, or associational memberships. During 1953-1957 Rohrer, Edmonson, and their colleagues reinterviewed at length 20 of Davis and Dollard's original cases. These gave evidence of four types of primary reference groups: a matriarchal family group, a nuclear family group, a middle-class group, and a male gang (which is a male counterpart to the matriarchal family group).

The present research also focused on family patterns. The purpose of the study was twofold: to ascertain family patterns and change in such patterns over a two-generational time period;[2] and to ascertain whether

or not different types of family patterns were related to different adult performances or expectations for children's performances in other social groups. These problems were examined with reference to social class and social mobility factors.

A random sample of 100 admissions to the prenatal clinic at Charity Hospital in New Orleans comprised the group studied. Charity Hospital accounts for approximately ninety per cent of hospitalized Negro births in this city.

Household Composition. The first factor examined was the presence or absence of parents in the home. With respect to the parents of the respondents, 52 of the respondents stated that their parents lived together until they themselves were 16 years of age; 15 said that the parents did not live together, because one parent had died before they reached 16; 33 said that they did not, because the parents were never married, were separated, or were divorced. With respect to the respondents themselves as parents, 65 said that they were living with the father of their child; 35 said that they were not living with the father, because they were never married or were separated or divorced. There were no significant differences between generations for this factor in household composition.

The maternal-paternal composition of the respondent's own home during most of her childhood (family of orientation) and of her present adult home situation (family of procreation) was examined in detail for those cases in which the mother and father did not live together with the children until the children were 16 years of age. In the respondent's family of orientation, the mother lived alone with the children in 25 cases; the mother, stepfather, and children lived together in 4 cases; the mother and/or her relatives lived with the children in 12 cases; the father and/or his relatives lived with the children in 7 cases. In the respondent's family of procreation, the mother lived alone with the children in 6 cases; the mother and her relatives lived with the children in 29 cases. The difference between generations of mother living alone with the children in the family of orientation and of mother living with her relatives and the children in the family of procreation may be more apparent than real; for the expectations of those mothers in the family of procreation were to live with relatives for a short period only, during childbearing, and then to set up separate households as the children grew older.

Information was also gathered concerning the number of full and of half brothers and sisters of the respondents and the number of children already born or desired by them. The respondents had a mean number

of 4.7 siblings and a mean number of 1.1 half siblings. The mean number of children they produced (including their present unborn child) was 3.1 and the number of children desired was 3.4. The differences were not significant between generations.[3]

Role of Mother and of Father. Even if household composition does not change from generation to generation, roles within the household unit may change. Consequently, the respondents were asked about the persons who assumed certain basic responsibilities for their own care as children and the persons who would assume these responsibilities for their children after they were born. The responsibilities were: (1) caring for the physical needs of the very young child—seeing that the child was fed, diapered, and protected from physical harm—and (2) teaching and disciplining the child in the home as he grew older.

The persons who cared for the physical needs of the respondents during their childhood included: mother and father together (3 cases), mother alone (71 cases), mother and/or her relatives (16 cases), father and/or his relatives (8 cases), unrelated persons (2 cases). The persons who taught and disciplined the respondents during their childhood were: mother and father together (20 cases), mother alone (61 cases), mother and/or her relatives (10 cases), father and/or his relatives (8 cases), unrelated individuals (1 case).

The persons who were expected to care for the physical needs of children of the respondents included: mother and father together (3 cases), mother alone (87 cases), mother and/or her relatives (8 cases), father's relatives (1 case), unrelated person (1 case). The persons who were expected to teach and discipline the children of the respondents were: mother and father together (30 cases), mother alone (64 cases), mother and/or her relatives (4 cases), father alone (2 cases).

The two generations were similar in the major emphasis which they placed on responsibility of the mother for these two tasks. They were also similar in the minor emphasis which they placed on sharing of responsibilities by mother and father for teaching and disciplining the child.

Family Types. The household composition and the roles assigned to mother and father provided a basis for a threefold classification of families. Two indices were used: whether or not mother and father lived together in the home, and whether or not they shared the responsibilities of child care (i.e., tending to basic physical needs and/or teaching and disciplining the child). The classification was as follows:

Type 1: Families in which the mother and father lived in the same household and in which the father did share some of these responsibilities of child care.

Type 2:   Families in which the mother and father lived in the same household and in which the father did not share these responsibilities of child care.

Type 3:   Families in which the father was not living in the same household.

Parental Achievement and Participation and Expectations for Children. The differences between the achievements of the respondents in various areas of life—educational and occupational—their political and religious participation, their marital status, and their expectations for their children's achievements and participation in these areas were explored. The differences in these factors for the three types of families were also explored.

The gulf between achievement and aspirations in general was great. Mothers wanted much more for their children than they themselves had obtained. With regard to educational achievement, 20 per cent of the respondents, 16.7 per cent of the fathers of their children, and 8.0 per cent of their own fathers were high school graduates, while 5 per cent of the respondents, 6.4 per cent of the fathers of their children, and 2

TABLE I

OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT OF MATERNAL GRANDFATHERS,
MOTHERS, AND FATHERS; OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS
OF MOTHERS FOR THEIR CHILDREN

Occupation	Percentage of			
	Maternal Grandfathers (N=83)	Mothers[1] (N=100)	Fathers (N=71)	Mothers' Aspirations for Children (N=87)
No Occupation	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0
Professional, Managerial	2.4	1.0	1.4	76.0
Sales, Clerical, Craft	14.5	4.0	7.0	9.6
Operative	13.3	12.0	31.0	1.2
Labor, other than Farm	43.3	0.0	26.8	2.4
Labor, Farm	18.1	0.0	0.0	0.0
Service	8.4	31.0	33.8	9.6
Household	0.0	32.0	0.0	1.2

[1]Ninety-two mothers were presently unemployed; this is on the basis of last job held.

per cent of their own fathers had some college training. The educational expectations of the respondents for their children were, in 11.3 per cent of the cases, high school graduation and, in 88.7 per cent of the cases, college graduation.

Occupational achievement of mothers, fathers, and maternal grand-fathers and expectations for the children are given in Table I.

Religious participation for mothers was as follows: 24 of the respondents did not attend any church regularly, 23 attended less than four times a month, and 53 attended four times a month or more. Five of the respondents wanted their child to go to church less than four times a month, 94 wanted their child to go four times a month or more, and 1 left it up to the child's own choice.

With regard to political participation, only 6 of the 64 respondents of voting age were registered voters, and only 4 of these had ever used their voting rights in a presidential, gubernatorial, or mayoralty election. When asked if their child's being a community leader was important to them, however, 73 said, "Yes," 26 said, "No," and one said, "If he wants." The kind of leadership desired was as follows: 33 wanted religious, 10 wanted civic, 5 wanted school (as a student), 2 wanted political, 2 wanted sports, 1 wanted educational (as a teacher), 1 wanted familial, 3 left it up to the child, and 18 didn't know. Two designated two different kinds of desired leadership.

Marital status for mothers was as follows: 65 of the mothers were married, 18 were separated, 4 were divorced, 1 was widowed, and 12 were single. Some insight into how the respondents felt about married life may be obtained from the type of marital role they said they wanted their child to play. Eleven of the respondents wanted their child to be like their own spouses, 53 wanted him to be economically dependable, 2 wanted him to be sexually faithful, 29 wanted him to be loving, 14 wanted him to be helpful with the children, 13 wanted him to exhibit good habits (no drunkenness or fighting), 3 wanted him to be better than their own spouses, and 2 didn't know.

The differences in achievement between types of families of orientation were then explored. Eighty-seven of the cases could be classified in the three types described above; in the other 13 cases the respondents lived with relatives other than their parents or with both parents at different times. Twenty-three of the classifiable cases were Type 1, 27 were Type 2, and 37 were Type 3. Chi squares showed no difference between the three types for the following variables: education of father of respondent's child; education of respondent's father; occupation of re-

spondent; occupation of father of her child; occupation of her father; religious participation of respondent; and marital status of respondent. Chi square showed a significant difference at the .05 level for respondent's education, those in Type 1 having a higher educational level (Chi square = 23.0, 4 d.f.). Chi square showed a significant difference at the .05 level for employment of the father of the respondent's child, those respondents in Type 3 having more unemployed fathers for their children (Chi square = 13.5, 2 d.f.).

Finally, the differences in aspirations between families of procreation were explored. All 100 cases could be classified in the same three types: 32 were Type 1, 32 were Type 2, and 36 were Type 3. There were no significant differences for the mother's desires for children in the area of education, occupation, religious participation, political participation, and marital role.

Social Class. These findings about family structure, achievements, and aspirations were then examined in relation to social class and social mobility. The index of social class adopted was that of the occupation of the father in the family: the upper class consisted of professional and managerial occupations; the middle class, of clerical, sales, and craft occupations; the lower class, of operative, household, service, and labor occupations. There were 14 cases of middle- or upper-class occupations for families of orientation, 6 cases of middle- or upper-class occupations for families of procreation.

Social class made no difference for any of the family structure or achievement level variables in the family of orientation.

Statistical analysis could not be conducted for the variables in the family of procreation because of small numbers in the middle class. It should be noted, however, that all of the middle-class respondents were living with the father of their child and in 2 of the 6 cases the father was sharing with the mother the socialization responsibility for the child. The emphasis on what should be done by mother and father for the children was similar for all classes. The aspiration level for children was also similar for all classes.

Examination of social mobility revealed that, of the 14 cases of middle-class status in family of orientation, 12 were downwardly mobile. Of the 69 cases of lower-class status in family of orientation, 4 were upwardly mobile. This general trend of downward mobility in the sample is probably a clue to the lack of differences shown between classes. One would have expected a more stable middle-class group systematically to have exhibited more differences from the lower class.[4]

Discussion. With regard to the first problem, that of ascertaining family types, the findings did show varying family patterns; they did not show the occurrence of a change in the incidence of family patterns between the two generations studied. The composition of the respondent's home during her own childhood and also during her adult married life consisted of a mother and father in over half the cases. For the majority of the remaining cases, the composition included the mother, often various members of her family of orientation, and the children. In terms of role taking, the mother continued to bear the major responsibility for care of the children. It is important to note here that the type of family of orientation in which the respondent was reared was not indicative of the type of family of procreation that she formed in adult life, nor was marital status of her parents indicative of the marital status of the individual respondent.

With regard to the second problem, that of achievements and aspirations, the findings showed that family types were related to some differences in social performance. As children, the respondents achieved a higher educational level in those families in which the father was both present in the home and active with children. As adults, the respondents from these same families were more likely to have as the father of their child someone who was presently employed. It is of significance to note that the respondents in all family types held expectations for their children which were much higher than their own achievements or participation.

The analysis of social class and social mobility revealed that the majority of these Negroes were in the lower class and that nearly all of those who had been reared in the middle class moved downward to the lower class as adults. Yet the orientation for the future, as shown by the expectations for their children, was decidedly middle and upper class: a college education followed by a steady, lucrative, professional job, stable home life, and participation in community affairs. This was true for all three types of family.

This study, like the Rohrer and Edmonson study, was able to delineate differing family types. It was possible to do this for a two-generational sample. The findings about differing social performances of the members of differing family types lent some support to the thesis of Rohrer and Edmonson that the Negro family was an important factor in molding personality and role identification in later life.

The findings of a universal orientation toward middle-class aspirations indicated the importance of other social variables as well. To what

extent values of the dominant white group are making this cultural impact, as they enter the Negro home through mass communications, is something that merits more close attention. American mass media extol predominantly a white upper middle-class culture, and the ways in which its influences are felt among Negro families of different types should be investigated. Further study should also be made of the extent to which family structures and family roles are changing in response to the expansion of educational and occupational opportunities for Negroes. Of particular interest in this regard is the position of the father in the family in which he provides a greater share of economic security.

Finally, the question of social mobility of Negroes deserves further attention. The downward mobility rate shown in this sample suggests that one cannot assume stability of Negro class membership. Aspirations for middle-class status are characteristic for both middle- and lower-class individuals, but achievement of this status is not characteristic in the long run for either of these groups. In future research into Negro culture, measures of social mobility as well as of social class should be undertaken.

FOOTNOTES

* This is part of a larger study on family patternings and socialization practices of New Orleans Negroes being conducted under the auspices of the Collaborative Child Development Project, Charity Hospital of Louisiana. The project is financed by the U.S. Public Health Service, Grant No. B-2383 (CI). The author is indebted to Miss Sally Templeman of the Collaborative Child Development Project staff for conducting these interviews.

[1] Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1940); John Rohrer and Munro Edmonson, editors, *The Eighth Generation* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960).

[2] See E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939), for a description of the matriarchal Negro family organization that was in existence at the time of slavery and that has continued to exist to some extent in the south today. See Robert Frumkin, "Attitudes of Negro College Students Toward Intra-family Leadership and Control," *Marriage and Family Living*, 16:252-53, for data on a gradual shift in the Negro population toward a more egalitarian nuclear family relationship, one which more closely approximates that of the dominant white group.

[3] Sixty-eight of the respondents had borne other children, 32 were bearing their first child; 36 of the respondents were 20 years of age or under, 47 were between 21 and 30, 17 were over 30.

[4] See Allison Davis and Robert J. Havighurst, *Father of the Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1947), for evidence of differences in Negro family structures and socialization practices by social class.

SOCIOECONOMIC BACKGROUND
AND MINORITY ATTITUDES

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ABSTRACT

This study considers the attitudes expressed toward two minority groups,
namely, Mexican-Americans and American Indians, by a selected group of the
"dominant" members of the same general community. A modified form of the
Bogardus social distance scale was used. It was tentatively concluded, for
example, that these attitudes are relative to the particular minority studied, to
the social system of the universe studied, and to the kind of questions asked of
the respondents.

Over a period of years a considerable body of literature dealing with
minority relations in American society has been produced by writers
from various fields of interest. Hundreds upon hundreds of articles on
minority groups have appeared in the popular press, magazines, and
books. Scholars from the social sciences have made contributions in the
form of studies, books, and articles in professional journals. Many of
these writings have taken into consideration, among other things, such
dimensions of minority relations as segregation, integration, desegrega-
tion, minority political behavior, attitudes, social status, housing, pathol-
ogies, and education.

In view of the great public and scholarly interest in the subject it is
surprising to learn not only of the relatively small amount of research
that has actually been done in the general field,[1] but also of the paucity
of serious studies on any one aspect, such as the socioeconomic background
of informants expressing attitudes toward selected minority groups.

Horowitz[2] in a survey of the literature on social class and anti-Negro
attitudes found no consistent differences in generalized attitude, or on
specific issues according to socioeconomic background. He, however,
cautions his readers not to conclude that there is no relationship between
socioeconomic status and "racial" attitudes, as he found the reviewed
studies to be inconclusive, poorly controlled, and unsystematic. Westie[3]
in referring to the same studies points out that many of the investigators
used either college students or children as respondents, or used one or a
few items on opinions about minority group members. He feels that we
learn very little about a person's attitudes who endorses or rejects a
single statement.

The present study is interested in the attitudes expressed toward two
minority groups by members of a selected group made up of members
of the dominant membership in a Southwestern American Community.

Although the community in which the study takes place has various minorities with origins such as Chinese, Jewish, Negro, Mexican, and American Indian, all of which, individually and collectively, are population minorities, only the last two groups were selected for study.

The research was undertaken with the working hypothesis that the attitudes expressed by the dominant group toward the above-named minorities would not vary if the socioeconomic background of the informants was taken into consideration. In other words, in the field of minority relations socioeconomic background is not a determining factor and has no role in a complete explanation of such relationships.

PROCEDURE

The sample consists of 100 members of a club made up of former residents of a mid-western state who have moved to Tucson, Arizona. Respondents were chosen at random from a list of names supplied by the president of the club.

Of the 100 persons interviewed, 46 were males and 54 females. Average length of residence of the informants in Tucson was 4.5 years, with 48.5 per cent falling into the two- to three-year group. The age range was 16 to 83 years of age, with five informants under the age of 30. The majority of the informants fell into the 45-70 age group.

The occupational background of the 100 informants is divided as follows: professional—12, farm owners—16, wholesale and retail dealers —25, other proprietors—11, clerical—12, skilled—18, semiskilled—14, and unskilled—2.

In every interview an attempt was made to determine the occupation of the head of the household by use of lead questions or statements. This method was followed by questions or statements designed to start the informant discussing his views regarding intermarriage between Anglo-Americans and Mexican-Americans, and American Indians; his views on members of the latter two minorities as personal friends, neighborhood residents, and economic competitors.

Occupation of the head of the household was used as an index of socioeconomic background. The classification of gainful workers into socioeconomic groups developed by Edwards[4] was used for this purpose. Bogardus' social distance scale was used in a modified form as a measure of the attitudes expressed by the informants.[5]

The concept of social distance as used in this paper follows Emory S. Bogardus' definition. It includes the degree of sympathetic understanding that functions between person and person, between person and

group, and between group and group. Sympathy is employed in the sense of a feeling reaction of a favorable responsive type.

It is assumed that the findings in the present study measure not only attitudinal differences as reported below, but also the degree of social distance existing between the reported collectivities as expressed by the dominant group.

The concepts of social distance and social stratification are important analytical tools that have been widely used by sociologists and other social scientists. Through the use of these concepts in the study of social structure and social relationships, sophisticated insights and penetrating understandings have been revealed. The present study makes exclusive use of these concepts in an attempt to achieve a better understanding of minority relations in a cross-cultural American community.

FINDINGS

The following analysis of the findings is based on tables that are available by contacting the author. The index referred to in the following material is a measure of representation such that 100 would indicate a uniform proportion of positive attitudes for both respondents falling into a given socioeconomic group and respondents in a selected social situation.

Attitudes Regarding Mexican-American Intermarriage with Anglo-Americans. Only 9.0 per cent of the sample would admit to marriage with Mexican-Americans. The degree of acceptance ranged from 21.4 per cent of the semiskilled group to 0.0 per cent for the wholesalers and proprietors groups.

If the socioeconomic groups are divided into three categories: (1) farmers, (2) white-collar workers (professional, wholesale, proprietors, and clerical), and (3) blue-collar workers (skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled), it is found that 16.7 per cent of the farmers with an index of 186, 5 per cent of the white-collar workers with an index of 56, and 14.7 per cent of the blue-collar workers with an index of 163 returned positive answers. It would appear from these findings that the blue-collar group is more in favor by almost threefold of intermarriage with Mexican-Americans than the white-collar group. However, the class differences are not statistically significant. Owing to the limited sample of farmers in the study, they will not be contrasted with the other groupings in this presentation.

Attitudes Regarding Mexican-Americans As Personal Friends. Thirty-one per cent of the informants returned positive responses indicating that

they would admit to personal friendships with Mexican-Americans. Analysis of the data reveals that 33.3 per cent of the farmers with an index of 107, 16.7 per cent of the white-collar workers with an index of 54, and 55.9 per cent of the blue-collar workers with an index of 180 returned positive answers. Whereas only 16.7 per cent of the white-collar workers would admit Mexican-Americans to personal friendships, the majority of the blue-collar workers were willing to do so.

Attitudes Regarding Mexican-Americans As Neighbors. Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents indicated a willingness to admit Mexican-Americans as neighborhood residents. None of the farmers indicated such a willingness, whereas 30.0 per cent of the white-collar group with an index of 81 and 55.1 per cent of the blue-collar group with an index of 149 returned positive answers. In comparison with the other groups, the blue-collar group was by far the most liberal in responding to this social situation.

Attitudes Regarding Mexican-Americans As Economic Competitors. Fifty-nine per cent of the sample indicated a willingness to accept Mexican-Americans to economic competition. Approximately 83.0 per cent of the farmers with an index of 141, a little over 58.0 of the white-collar workers with an index of 99, and 55.9 per cent of the blue-collar workers with an index of 95 returned positive answers. This is the only social situation out of the four involving Mexican-Americans in which the majority of all three social groups admit to no social distance. The class differences were found not to be statistically significant.

Attitudes Regarding American-Indian Intermarriage with Anglo-Americans. There were no informants in the sample of 100 persons, and of course in any of the socioeconomic groups, that would admit to marriage with American Indians.

Attitudes Regarding American Indians As Personal Friends. Only 9.0 per cent of the general sample returned positive responses to the "friends" situation with American Indians. There were no positive responses from the farmers. Only 5.0 per cent of the white-collar group with an index of 56 and 17.6 per cent of the blue-collar workers with an index of 196 returned positive answers. In relative terms, the blue-collar workers were over three times as liberal in this situation as the white-collar workers.

Attitudes Regarding American Indians As Neighbors. Only 6.0 per cent of the respondents indicated a willingness to admit American Indians as neighborhood residents. Assuming the analysis of such a small number of cases to be valid, we find no positive responses from the farmers, only 1.7 per cent of the white-collar groups and 14.7 per cent

of the blue-collar group returning positive answers. The indices for the latter two categories were found to be 28 and 245.

Attitudes Regarding American Indians As Economic Competitors. Fifty-nine per cent of the general sample was willing to accept American Indians to economic competition. Approximately 83.0 per cent of the farmers with an index of 141, some 58.0 per cent of the white-collar workers with an index of 99, and 55.9 per cent of the blue-collar workers with an index of 95 returned positive answers. This is the only social situation out of the four involving Indians in which the majority of all three social groups admit to no social distance. As in the case of the Mexican-Americans, the class differences were found not to be statistically significant.

SUMMARY

Mexican-Americans

1.   For the sample as a whole there is a direct relationship between social distance and the proportion of informants willing to accept Mexican-Americans to selected social situations.

2.   A direct relationship was found between social distance and the proportion of white-collar informants who were willing to accept Mexican-Americans to selected social situations.

3.   The proportion of blue-collar informants willing to accept Mexican-Americans to selected social situations remained constant as social distance varied with the exception of the marriage situation.

4.   In general, the higher the socioeconomic group, the greater the alteration of response with variation in social distance.

American Indians

1.   Because of the great social distance expressed by the sample as a whole toward the American Indian, it is difficult to analyze the positive answers in any detail. Out of 400 possible responses involving the four social situations, the American Indian received 74 positive responses whereas the Mexican-American received 136 positive replies.

2.   Whereas the total sample is made up of 6.0 per cent farmers, 60.0 per cent white-collar workers, and 34.0 per cent blue-collar workers, the white-collar groups returned only 51.4 per cent of the positive responses while the blue-collar groups returned 41.8 per cent.

CONCLUSIONS

1.   On the two extremes of the social distance scale used in the present study class differences were found not to be significant. Majori-

ties in both groups, white-collar and blue-collar, agreed to reject the minorities under study in the marriage situation, but at the same time agreed to accept them in the economic situation.

2. Significant class differences, however, were found in social situations expressing intermediate social distance. The blue-collar group in comparison with the white-collar group proved by far to be more liberal in accepting the minorities to the friendship and neighborhood situations. It is of interest to note that in a different study in which a sample of Mexican-Americans was drawn from the same community, a larger proportion of the upper-class informants than the lower-class thought that they were discriminated against by the majority population.

3. On the basis of the present parochial study and others of a similar interest, we may tentatively conclude that in the field of American minorities the relationship between socioeconomic background of respondents and social distance, as expressed in verbalized attitudes, is relative to the particular minority studied, to the social system of the universe sampled, and to the kind of question or questions, or hypothetical social situations that are presented to the respondents.

4. If sociologists are seeking some simple and clear-cut set of principles that describe the relationship between socioeconomic status and attitudes toward minority groups, it appears that the work so far done has not led to any such conclusions. It may be that studies of a higher methodological order need to be devised if valid generalizations are to be developed in this field.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Melvin M. Tumin, *Segregation and Desegregation* (New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1957).

[2] Eugene Horowitz, "Attitudes and Social Classes," in Otto Klineberg, *Characteristics of the American Negro* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944), p. 223.

[3] Frank R. Westie, "Negro-White Status Differentials and Social Distance," *American Sociological Review*, 17:55ff.

[4] Alba M. Edwards, *Comparative Occupation Statistics, U.S. 1870-1940* (U.S. Bureau of Census, 16th Census, 1943), p. 179.

[5] Emory S. Bogardus, *Social Distance* (Los Angeles: The Antioch Press, 1959), pp. 7, 31.

ATTITUDES OF MODERN JAPANESE YOUTH TOWARD MATE SELECTION*

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ABSTRACT

A survey of 5,000 Japanese young people in forty-seven high schools and universities reveals that they are breaking away from the traditional patterns of thought and are asserting their independence in their attitudes toward such matters as sex equality, the "love match," mate selection, the importance of the "go-between," and the relative importance of the family interest as opposed to their own interests in marriage.

One of the most striking characteristics of modern-day Japan, whether from the viewpoint of the casual tourist or that of the social scientist, is the fascinating combination of the old and the new, of the Western and the Eastern ideologies. This holds true in many fields—economics, education, religion, social customs. It is equally true in the field of marriage and family life, showing itself not only in the outward forms of the ceremonies (many Japanese brides have a Western type bridal gown and veil, and then don different kimonos during the wedding dinner, in the old Japanese tradition), but also in such deep-seated ideas as the real value of democracy, both theoretically and practically, beliefs as to the position of women, and the attitudes of the young people themselves toward mate selection.

It must be remembered that for centuries in Japan there has been almost no completely free marriage. It has been looked upon primarily from the standpoint of advantage to the family, and only secondary consideration has been given to the desires of the young folks themselves. Marriage meant the joining of one house with another rather than the joining of individuals, and therefore it was natural that the matter be settled by the family head rather than by the persons in question.

But the attitude of modern young people is strikingly different, and has been most vividly demonstrated by the Crown Prince himself, who threw over the shackles of the old tradition and convention, and delighted most

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young people by insisting on active participation in the choice of his mate. He was quite satisfied with the idea of an arranged marriage; but when he found the girl whom he wanted, he took a much more active part in persuading her than had ever been known previously, and the match is considered in Japan a true "love match." This was a dramatic demonstration of the fact democracy in truth has been growing in Japanese family life. But the acceleration of the process in the period following the war has been striking.

Many evidences of this democracy, and of a breaking away of the young people from the old traditional patterns, are seen. A study of 5,000 young people revealed many of their ideas in regard to family matters. This paper will deal only with those regarding mate selection. The 5,000 in the sample were very carefully selected, with the help of eminent Japanese sociologists, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Health, and some prefectural directors of education, so as to furnish a representative sample of high school and college young people in all four islands of Japan. As far as is known, this was the largest sample ever gotten in this area,[1] and it was representative of all types of cultural areas, thus including students with city, town, and village backgrounds. Forty-seven high schools and colleges were visited by the researcher and his Japanese assistant, and the returns from questionnaires represent about an equal number of high school and college students. About one half of the high school returns and approximately one third of the university returns were from girls. An eight-page questionnaire, in Japanese, covering more than fifty questions, very carefully prepared with the help of Japanese sociologists, family case workers, and anthropologists, was administered in the classroom, mostly to third- and fourth-year students in college and high schools. Since it was so administered, and the papers collected immediately, the return from the questionnaire was 100 per cent. There was no opportunity for students to consult with one another, or other members of their families, so the answers represent their own opinions. Since the purpose of the study was carefully explained by the professors and by the Japanese assistant of the researcher, and since the replies were strictly anonymous, it was felt that real cooperation was achieved and that the answers can truthfully be said to represent the real attitudes of the young people, regardless of whether or not these opinions coincide with current public opinion.

Of course there may not always be actual action corresponding to the expressed attitudes. An 18-year-old who is firmly convinced of the practicality of choosing his own mate may find that when he comes to the age of marriage several factors work against his being able to carry

out his expressed desires. Actually it is still very difficult for Japanese boys and girls to meet one another in the free and easy manner of American young people, so the young man or woman may find it extremely difficult to find a suitable mate. Also, family pressure may be exerted to such an extent that the young person may find it easier to yield than to hold out against it. After the War, the new constitution and civil code stressed the dignity and rights of the individual and made marriage dependent upon the free consent of both parties.[2] So parents can no longer *legally* force their children into unwilling unions; but they can (and many still do) continue to exert an almost irresistible pressure by the prestige of their authority and the restrictions of family loyalty, which are ingrained in the children from babyhood.

One of the most basic questions, upon which many others depend, is that of sex equality. The profound implications of this concept upon Japanese culture are already making themselves felt. The young people were asked, "What is your attitude toward sex equality?" Only a very few reject it entirely, but likewise only relatively few (boys, 26 per cent; girls, 21 per cent) believe in it thoroughly. About three fourths of them (boys, 71 per cent; girls, 77 per cent) say they believe in it *theoretically*, but *practically* they are doubtful about it. The fact that a large majority of the girls question the practicality of the idea apparently indicates that they want to believe in it, but cannot yet convince themselves that such a radical innovation can actually work in Japan. Yet elsewhere in the questionnaire there are clear indications that they do believe in its ultimate realization and are firmly resolved to work toward that end.

The young people were asked, "Do you consider the 'love match' in the choice of a husband or wife to be the ideal method?" Four fifths of the boys (university and high school combined) answered "Yes." And it is interesting to note that high school boys lead university boys on this point, 84 per cent to 77 per cent, but with the girls the university leads the high school, 75 per cent to 67 per cent. How quickly has the Western romantic concept captured the imagination of Japanese youth!

Not only do a heavy majority of these youth consider the love match ideal, but when asked, "Do you consider it practical in Japan at present?" almost three fourths of the boys and nearly two thirds of the girls said "Yes." It is interesting to note that city students lead village students in this opinion, for from one angle one might expect it to be just reversed. It is stated by some Japanese writers that wealthy families have a greater incentive and therefore more likelihood to favor arranged marriage than do poor families. Their high status, both socially and economically, must be maintained, and they do not want any individualistic ideas to block

what is best for the family. Probably a larger proportion of urban than rural students are from wealthy or at least well-to-do families. It might be expected that they would know from their upbringing that in their own high-status families any romantic feelings they might have would not be permitted unless they happened to serve the family interests. They might therefore reluctantly answer, more frequently than rural youths, that the love match is not practicable for Japan today. But if this factor does have any weight, it is more than offset by other factors of greater weight—such, possibly, as the greater sophistication of city youths in general, and a little more aggressive drive for independence.

The students were asked, "In choosing a marriage partner, which of three methods do you think is best—to choose a mate oneself, to make the choice in cooperation with parents, or to have the parents make the choice?" Well over one third of the boys and between one fourth and one fifth of the girls thought a son should have freedom to choose his own mate. But both boys and girls were more conservative when it came to giving a daughter in the family freedom of choice—only 24 per cent of the boys and 16 per cent of the girls approved of such freedom. A heavy majority of the young people thought that the choice should be a matter for them and their parents to decide together—more than three fifths of the boys and three fourths of the girls. Almost none—less than 1 per cent—were willing to yield the whole process to the parents.

When asked, "In your own case, which method do you think will be used?" 40 per cent of the boys and 19 per cent of the girls thought they would have the choice, 54 per cent of the boys and 72 per cent of the girls thought the matter would be in cooperation with parents, and 6 per cent of the boys and 9 per cent of the girls thought the parents would make the choice.

Another important question was, "In the choice of a husband or wife, whose interests do you think should come first—the young couple's or their families'?" Here the young people showed in a striking manner how they have been intrigued by democracy and have turned toward Western tradition, for they are almost unanimous (boys, 98.3 per cent; girls, 98.8 per cent) in their conviction that the young couple's interests should come first. There is practically no difference on this point, by sex, by university or high school, or by city, town, or village upbringing.

The same question was brought down to a perhaps more specific situation, and the students were asked to consider whose will they thought should prevail when there was a clash of wills and the parents disapproved of prospective mates. A striking amount of independence (at least in *ideals*) was still shown, for approximately 85 per cent of both boys

and girls felt that a son's will should prevail in this matter. However, there was a much more conservative attitude (on the part of both boys and girls) when there was a clash of wills in the case of a daughter in the family. Only 26 per cent of the boys thought that a daughter's will should prevail if her parents disapproved of the young man she wished to marry. But a remarkable fact is that in such a short time after women's emancipation as many as 83 per cent of the university girls and 71 per cent of the high school girls thought that the daughter should win in a contest of wills.

The girls were asked, "Which of the three following feelings do you think is uppermost in the minds of most girls in the matter of finding a husband: (1) a girl feels more certain about getting married if she relies upon her parents to arrange it for her, (2) she is torn between the safety of relying on her parents and the exhilaration of exercising her new freedom, (3) she prefers to do her own looking, in spite of the risk that she may not succeed in marrying?" By far the greater proportion (more than four fifths) of the girls are torn between safety and self-reliance. However, in spite of the risk of never marrying, 14 per cent prefer to rely on themselves, which is a daring decision. A high school girl probably summed up the views of the vast majority when she said, "The best way is to have an arranged marriage, if your parents will let you have a considerable period of knowing each other and getting acquainted."

Another question put to the students was, "How important do you consider the go-between in marriage today: essential; not absolutely necessary, but convenient; a nice formality; no longer useful and should be abandoned?" The go-between has long played a standard role in Japanese marriage, sometimes being brought into the matter from the beginning, sometimes at a later stage in the procedure. If the parents are not in a favorable position to approach another family directly, the go-between may be asked to suggest one or two possible candidates. If the parents (let us say of a son) like the suggestion, they will ask the go-between to "feel out" the girl's family privately and cautiously. If he finds the girl's family cool to the idea, he reports back, and the matter is dropped without loss of face, since no direct approach has been made. If, however, the girl's family reacts favorably, the go-between may arrange a meeting of parents, and this may result in a settlement of the matter, without consulting the young people involved. However, it is much more likely to result in an arrangement either for a single meeting of the young couple (to see if they have any strong opposition) or for a meeting to be followed by a period of some months for them to get

acquainted. Or, the go-between may be called in only after the boy's parents have already decided on a girl who seems suitable to them, in which case he will then make his cautious approach.

Even the love match does not rule out the go-between, for if a boy and girl fall in love and are able to persuade their respective parents to give consent, a go-between will still often be called upon to make the necessary arrangements. This is done partly in respect to tradition and good form, but also because the go-between is more than an intermediary in the match making. He is a sort of sponsor and counselor all through the years to come if the young couple ever have need of his advice. He is present at the wedding ceremony and has an honored place in the proceedings. A young couple with a wise and able *nakodo* to turn to in time of trouble feels safer thereby. One wonders if such a system might not have some advantages for American young couples! Among the 5,000 students, only 3 per cent of either boys or girls consider the go-between any longer essential. The vast majority (four fifths) consider the use of the go-between as either "convenient" or a "nice formality." Eighteen per cent of the boys and 13 per cent of the girls consider that the time-honored institution is no longer of any value, and should be abolished.

A number of other question, dealing not directly with the question of mate selection, but with matters of the amount of democracy in the home (both in the students' own home and in those they hope to establish), with the question of the young couples' living with their families after marriage, with the mother-in-law problem, with parent-child interaction, with support of aged parents, etc., were asked the students. And all the answers show to a startling degree the penetration of the democratic idea into the thinking of modern-day Japanese young people.

FOOTNOTES

[1] A widely known Unesco report, *Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword—a Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Post-War Japan*, by Jean Stoetzel, assisted by F. Vos (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), has for its sample 109 university students from four schools, and 122 high school students from one school. This report has a good bibliography on "Youth and the Family" on pp. 313-22. *The Life and Opinions of Housewives*, a study of 944 housewives in two urban areas, made by the Women's and Minors' Bureau, Ministry of Labor, Overseas Series No. 9, 1957, gives some opinions on family matters. A survey of 2,302 persons was made by the National Public Opinion Research Institute for the Post Office Insurance Bureau, and published in 1954.

[2] For a discussion of the changes brought about by the new law, see Takenori Kawashima, *Japanese Society from the Standpoint of Family Organization* (Tokyo: Gakusei-shobo, 1948), Chapter V, entitled "The Family System and the New Constitution."

THE COMPONENTS OF MARITAL ROLES

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ABSTRACT

Each of the roles in the role-sets of the spouses subsumes specific functions or actions. For both research and counseling purposes, it is important to know whether an individual spouse's concept of the marital roles' components is similar to or different from the concept of other spouses. The present paper presents an empirically developed outline of the components of marital roles which has been prepared from the responses of a middle-class sample to a Marital Roles Inventory.

The concept of role, which plays a central part in the study of the family, is gaining increasing importance in efforts to apply sociological concepts and knowledge in the clinical setting.[1] However, investigators from varied but related fields are using this concept in widely different ways. In general, three different kinds of family roles are described: (1) functional, which link the individual as an actor to his family and the social structure; (2) control, which identify the source and kind of authority exercised within the family; and (3) symbolic, which are related to the developmental needs that the husband and wife satisfy for each other.[2]

The functional roles have two general characteristics: (1) they have two valences and (2) they subsume different components as a result of individual experiences. The two valences of these roles are their performance and the expectation of how they will be performed. The compatibility of role performances and role expectations of the spouses can be measured and interpreted as an index of strain between them.[3]

Each role also subsumes a number of concrete and specific actions which are defined by the normative expectations of the members of the group as defined by its social traditions. These roles, which are organized into a role-set, become part of the individual's personality. As Parsons points out, in the course of the process of socialization the individual absorbs—to a greater or lesser degree—the standards and ideals of his group so that they become effective motivating forces in his own conduct, independently of external sanctions.[4] Roles thus serve as norms that guide the individual in his relationships with others;[5] however, because each individual's experiences are unique, he may define his roles' components differently and may have idiosyncratic norms of performed and expected behavior, thus creating a strain upon his role partner.[6]

In the counseling situation it is often apparent that the spouses have a different order of role performances and role expectations and that

they define their own and their spouse's roles' components differently.
Thus the role of "companion," which both spouses share, may have dif-
ferent meanings for each of them although both spouses may consider
"companion" to be their primary role and expect it as the primary role
from the other spouse. The husband may interpret "companion" to mean
that his wife may not have any interests outside their home, that she must
participate in a planned activity with him even in an emergency situation,
or that she must be deeply interested in each one of his activities. If his
wife does not define the components of the "companion" role in the same
way, this can be a source of strain between them. Since the roles' com-
ponents are defined on the basis of one's own growing-up experiences,
the kind of family group in which he was raised, his social class position,
educational level, rural or urban origin, exposure to mass communication
media, or ethnic group identification, each individual may be expected
to define the roles' components differently. Marriage counseling, which
often involves the discussion of the differential pattern of role per-
formances and role expectations between the spouses, can therefore utilize
empirically developed role-sets for husbands and wives. The components
of the role-sets should be regarded as sociological ideal or constructed
types and not as actual specific and concrete actions which each spouse
performs or expects; and as ideal types the components can serve as
norms of performance and expectation of the marital partners.[7]

SAMPLE AND PROCEDURE

The Marital Roles Inventory,[8] which was devised by the writer and
utilized in a recent study of marriage,[9] lists the role-sets of the spouses
and is an instrument that the writer utilized to secure responses regard-
ing the roles' components. The data for this study were secured during
the summer of 1957 from a random sample of 104 married couples
living in the Baldwin Hills area, a middle-class neighborhood in south-
western Los Angeles. The data were collected by the writer through
interviews with the subjects in their homes. Couples who agreed to
participate were interviewed together, and the husband and wife com-
pleted separate questionnaires simultaneously but independently in the
presence of the writer.

Significant social characteristics of the subjects indicate their middle-
class status. The mean age of the husbands in the sample is approximately
40; the mean age of the wives is approximately 35; and the mean length
of marriage to the present spouse is approximately 12.5 years. The modal
family group is composed of a couple married 8 to 14 years with two

children. Half the sample is Jewish, Protestants constitute more than a third, Catholics about 10 per cent, and 5 per cent indicated no religious affiliation or preference. Forty per cent of the husbands and almost 30 per cent of the wives are college graduates; one third of the husbands are professionals and another third are business owners or managers; and the mean income is $9,615.00 a year.

After the spouses had completed the Marital Roles Inventory, which was the last part of the schedule, they were asked to report what they believed were the most important role components, the usual functions or actions subsumed or implied by each role. The responses of the subjects were recorded at the time of the interview; later each role component was typed on a slip of paper, and the similar statements from all the subjects were grouped together. The most common or the most expressive statement about a particular component was taken to stand for all those similar to it. Following, presented in the same random order as they appear on the Marital Roles Inventory, are the roles of the husband-and-father and wife-and-mother and their components as defined by this middle-class sample.[10]

THE HUSBAND'S ROLES

He does his jobs around the house. He performs the man's household chores, yard work, and various repairs related to his skill and ability. He shows an interest in his home to make it more pleasant and livable.

He is a companion to his wife. He share his activities, leisure time, and thoughts with his wife. He is related to his wife more than to any other interests such as his occupation or business, his parents, children, friends, various organizations of which he is a member and in which he holds office, hobbies, etc. He shows interest in his wife's concerns such as their children, relatives, neighbors, etc. He is aware that he needs his wife for the fulfillment of himself as a person, and he seeks to help his wife fulfill herself as a person also. He regards his wife as a friend and confidante and refrains from abuse or ridicule of her.

He helps the children grow by being their friend, teacher, and guide. He is involved with the children as a friendly and concerned adult. He helps the children make choices and orients them to effective participation in their growing world. He interacts with the children about their experiences and feelings. He participates in leisure-time activities with the children and assists them with their school work, youth organization activities, etc. He helps them in their relationships with other children and adults. He is aware of what is desirable, preferred, or "proper" behavior for the children in particular situations and helps them to

perform in this way. He uses punishment understandingly, he disciplines in relation to the realities of the situation, and he refrains from abuse and ridicule of the children.

He earns the living and supports the family. He is the breadwinner. He recognizes and accepts the responsibility for the financial support of his family.

He does his wife's work around the house if his help is needed. He performs part of his wife's roles if she or the children are ill or this is required by a particular circumstance; or he carries all of his wife's roles on a temporary basis if this is necessary. He accepts carrying out his wife's roles in emergencies as part of the marital relationship.

He practices the family religion or philosophy. He expresses and/or identifies with a religious belief and/or philosophical attitude toward life and the world. He gives the children an understanding of the family's religious identification, minority group and/or ethnic group values, or the family's nonreligious philosophy such as secular humanism, etc.

He is a sexual partner to his wife. He gains and gives sexual gratification with his wife. He shows his wife special tender attention and interest. He understands that his wife's sexual needs are part of her total feeling for him. He wants to have children with his wife. He does not show sexual interest in other women. He does not abuse his wife sexually.

He serves as the model of men for his children. He serves as the "ideal-model" of men, husbands, and fathers for his children; and he expresses this in the manner in which he performs his other roles. He is organized as a person and does not show deviant behavior as alcoholism, criminality, etc. He can understand and respond properly to the behavior and feelings of others. He is interested in his own physical health and psychological well-being. He accepts his roles as husband-and-father and stays with his family while attempting to work through problems that may arise through the performance of his other roles.

He decides when the family is still divided after discussing something. He is recognized, acknowledged, and referred to by his wife and children as the decision-maker about family affairs. He casts the "tie-breaking vote" when decisions are made. He makes decisions which are fair and in the interests of the entire family.

He represents and advances his family in the community. He is the legal head of the family and household. He is concerned with his own and his family's educational and vocational future. He participates in community affairs and accepts civic responsibilities. He joins groups of various kinds for his own recreational or other interests and to further his occupational, business, or family interests. He wants his wife to

reflect the status to which he is aspiring. He wants to "get ahead," and he wants to keep his family from dependence upon "outsiders." He holds attitudes and values that do not challenge the community in which he functions.

He helps manage the family income and finances. He manages his earnings and/or other income for the benefit of the entire family. He brings home his earnings. He helps plan the use of the family income for all the members of the family. He subordinates his immediate needs to the long-range goals of the family. He plans for the future security of his family through such programs as savings and insurance.

THE WIFE'S ROLES

She helps earn the living when her husband needs her help or when the family needs more money. She accepts the responsibility to assist in the financial support of her family if her help is needed. She accepts her husband's role as breadwinner temporarily in an acute crisis such as illness or incapacity, or she assists her husband in this role permanently in a chronic situation which has diminished his earning power. She does not regard herself, nor does she aspire to be, the primary breadwinner in the family.

She practices the family religion or philosophy. She expresses and/or identifies with a religious belief and/or philosophical attitude toward life and the world. She gives the children an understanding of the family's religious identification, minority group and/or ethnic values, or the family's nonreligious philosophy such as secular humanism, etc.

She cares for the children's everyday needs. She is responsible for the immediate, daily needs of her children from infancy through adolescence: feeding, clothing, cleaning, getting off to school, transporting, etc. She supervises the children's interaction with playmates and neighbor children. She is the liaison between her family and the children's and youth clubs and activities in which her children participate. Her involvement with the children changes as they grow and experience new privileges and responsibilities. She rewards and punishes the children in relation to the immediate situation.

She is a companion to her husband. She share her activities, leisure time, and thoughts with her husband. She is related to her husband more than to any other interests such as her occupation or business, her parents, friends, various organizations of which she is a member and in which she holds office, hobbies, etc. She is related to her husband and his needs more than to her children except in emergencies such as illness, etc. She

shows interest in her husband's concerns such as his occupation or business, their children, relatives, neighbors, etc. She is aware that she needs her husband for the fulfillment of herself as a person, and she seeks to help her husband fulfill himself as a person also. She regards her husband as a friend and confidant and refrains from abuse or ridicule of him.

She is the homemaker. She performs the everyday tasks of running the home: planning and preparing meals, cleaning the house, laundering, supplying clean and repaired clothes, etc. She budgets the household expenses and manages the everyday household affairs.

She is a sexual partner to her husband. She gains and gives sexual gratification with her husband. She shows her husband special tender attention and interest. She understands that her husband's sexual needs are part of his total feeling for her. She wants to have children with her husband. She does not show sexual interest in other men. She does not use the sexual relationship to manipulate her husband and wants to satisfy him sexually. She expects sexual attention and loyalty from her husband and continues to hold her husband's sexual interest.

She serves as the model of women for her children. She serves as the "ideal-model" of women, wives, and mothers for her children; and she expresses this in the manner in which she performs her other roles. She is organized as a person and does not show such deviant behavior as alcoholism, criminality, etc. She can understand and respond properly to the behavior and feelings of others. She is interested in her own physical health and psychological well-being. She subordinates her own interests to the economic role of the husband. She gains fulfillment of herself as a woman in relation to her family responsibilities; she accepts a limited range of activities and interests outside her home; and she believes that it is more desirable to be married and rear a family than not. She accepts her roles as wife-and-mother and stays with her family while attempting to work through problems that may arise through the performance of her other roles.

She represents and advances her family socially and in the community. She is the "social" head of the family and plans the family's social activities at home and away from home. She is concerned with her own and her family's educational and vocational future. She participates in community affairs and accepts civic responsibilities. She joins groups of various kinds for her own recreational or other interests and to further the interests of the family as a whole. She plays the social role her husband's status aspirations require and she cultivates associations which may help her husband to succeed in his primary role obligations. She wants her husband to "get ahead," and she wants to keep her family

from dependence upon "outsiders." She is the correspondent in social and family matters for her family. She holds attitudes and values that do not challenge the community in which she functions.

She helps the children grow by being their friend, teacher, and guide. She is involved with the children as a friendly and concerned adult. She helps the children make choices and orients them to effective participation in their growing world. She interacts with the children about their experiences and feelings. She participates in leisure-time activities with the children and assists them with their school work, youth organization activities, etc. She helps them in their relationships with other children and adults. She is aware of what is desirable, preferred, or "proper" behavior for the children in particular situations and helps them to perform in this way. She uses punishment understandingly, she disciplines in relation to the realities of the situation, and she refrains from abuse and ridicule of her children.

She helps manage the family income and finances. She manages her husband's earnings and/or other income for the benefit of the entire family. She helps plan the use of the family income for all the members of the family so that each can have the most benefit from the available income.

She decides when the family is still divided after discussing something. She is recognized, acknowledged, and deferred to by her husband and children as the decision-maker about family affairs. She casts the "tie-breaking vote" when decisions are made. She makes decisions that are fair and in the interests of the entire family.

SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

The developing use of the concept of role in the behavioral sciences, in marriage and family research, and in marriage counseling, requires that all persons concerned with the relationship between the spouses develop a clear understanding of marital roles and their components. This paper indicated that in general there are three kinds of roles described in the studies about the family: (1) functional, (2) control, and (3) symbolic.

This paper outlined the components of the functional roles and indicated that their exposition can be utilized in marriage and family counseling. Since these roles embody and reflect norms, they guide our relatedness to other people. Thus, presenting the roles of the husband-and-father and wife-and-mother to a young married couple may give them reciprocal norms of conduct which may have considerable signifi-

cance for them in helping them to accept the socially defined responsibilities of marriage. Also, exploring the differential pattern of role performances and role expectations of the individual, definitions of the roles' components of a pair of spouses in marital conflict may reveal areas where counseling or reeducation is indicated.

The roles and their components which have been outlined and described in this paper have certain limitations: (1) they were prepared by middle-class husbands and wives and reflect middle-class attitudes and values; (2) there is overlapping in some of the roles and roles' components as in "companion" and "sexual partner," and "care for the children's everyday needs" and "help the children grow"; and (3) these roles and their components may be defined differently and have different significance at various stages of family growth. Although these limitations are present, it should also be pointed out that (1) even those persons who may not be in the middle class by objective criteria identify themselves as members of the middle class and accept the middle-class attitudes and values which pervade our society; (2) although there is overlapping and there are common elements in some roles, they are different in their function and in their place in the social structure of the family; and (3) since the roles and their components may be defined differently, this may serve to indicate how the definition of these roles changes during various stages in the natural history of the family in our society.

Other investigators may utilize this material in both research and counseling and modify the components to make them more useful for themselves and the field of marriage and family counseling as a whole.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Otto Pollak, *Integrating Sociological and Psychoanalytic Concepts* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956).

[2] Nathan Hurvitz, "Marital Roles and Adjustment in Marriage in a Middle-Class Group" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Southern California, 1958).

[3] Hurvitz, "The Measurement of Marital Strain," *American Journal of Sociology*, 65:610-15 (May, 1960).

For a theoretical approach to role strain, "the felt difficulty in fulfilling role obligations," which places the present research in the larger context of role theory and the social structure, see William J. Goode, "A Theory of Role Strain," *American Sociological Review*, 25:483-96 (August, 1960).

[4] Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory*, (rev. ed.) (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1954), pp. 230-31.

[5] George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1950), pp. 123-24.

[6] Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), p. 252.

[7] The importance of the "ideal type" in family research is indicated by Burgess and Locke, who state that the ideal type may be distinguished by four general characteristics: 1. "the prefix 'ideal' denotes merely logical perfection and not evaluation or approval"; 2. "the ideal type represents the extremes and not the average"; 3. "the ideal type is a logical construction, an abstraction, and, therefore, by its very nature cannot be found in reality"; and 4. "the ideal-type procedure is not merely a method for formulating concepts but for the analysis and measurement of social reality." Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family, from Institution to Companionship* (New York: American Book Company, 1950), Appendix A, pp. 754-57.

[8] Published by Western Psychological Services, Box 775, Beverly Hills, California.

[9] Nathan Hurvitz, "Marital Roles and Adjustment in Marriage in a Middle-Class Group," *op. cit.*

[10] As a result of this study, the Marital Roles Inventory was modified to include the role "He [She] helps manage the family income or finances," for both spouses; and "She decides when the family is still divided after discussing something," for the wife.

THE NON-AFRICAN MINORITY
IN MODERN AFRICA: SOCIAL STATUS*

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ABSTRACT

In West Africa and the African Horn the few formerly socially superior Europeans now form an elite group marginally allied to the new African upper class, while in the Congo the status of non-Africans is in transition. In East Africa the Asians (Indians) occupy an indeterminate position, while the Europeans here, as well as in Central, South, and Portuguese Africa, are still dominant, although the upward mobility of Africans is beginning to affect the long-established and rigid racially structured class system.

Political developments in modern Africa, the source of numerous problems for former and now passing colonial powers, may be blamed for something else—the delicate and dangerous position of the six million non-Africans[1] who were once a ruling minority or who filled roles which accorded them invariably higher social class status than that of any indigenous people, whatever the latter's attainments. As Africans assume responsibility for their destiny in the newly independent and emerging nations, the social status of both African and non-African is in the process of modification. This alteration in social stratification and roles involves social, psychological, economic, and educational factors with significant ramifications for both the newly dominant African majority and the deteriorating-status non-African minority. This kind of social change adds to the already numerous difficulties of human elements in Africa, as they work out a *modus vivendi*.

The need for broad and deep study of non-African minorities is obviously a major, if neglected, problem in African research. The purpose of this paper is to provide an overview of the problem as it presents itself in tropical Africa (south of the Sahara), focusing on the groups involved; the nature of the changes in the social status structure; regional variations in patterns of change, together with reasons for these variations; and some problems raised by the alterations in status patterns.[2]

Status-class patterns following racial lines were long fixed in colonial Africa, where the classic structure placed European members of the metropolitan ruling government bureaucracy and their families at the top of the status-class pyramid.[3] The social position of these Europeans was unchallenged; they held a determining measure of power over all others in the community.

Those who occupied the rungs immediately below them varied according to region. In West Africa the Syrio-Lebanese—Greek and Syrian traders and small business entrepreneurs—stood next in status.[4] For various reasons, among them that they came chiefly from the Middle East, the Africans did not look upon them precisely as "Europeans." Asians, specifically Indians, were so few in West Africa that they did not in themselves form a recognized class; however, in East and Central Africa, where they were more numerous, the Indians ranked just below the Europeans. In such places as Zanzibar, where Arabs comprised a sizable part of the population, they ranked beside the Indians. Everywhere the indigenous African was at the bottom of the status-class hierarchy.

The modification of this racial-social status pattern begins with the onset of World War II, partly as a concomitant of the political development of Africans, partly as a result[1] of growing urbanization and westernization, among other factors. Africans in increasing numbers began to occupy better positions throughout the society—in government, industry, business, the professions—all of which called for new social realignments. Thus, as independence has been achieved or significant progress in this direction made, a new status pattern has emerged, particularly in the new urban areas. At the apex are the elite—African and non-African—who form an overlapping group in which the few holders of high public office, elective, appointive, and civil service, are followed by a gradually increasing number in the professions, and those entering an expanding business world. Next in order comes what is now an incipient middle-class element made up in part by minor white-collar workers; the broad base of the new status pyramid is composed of the ever-growing urban laboring masses.[5]

Most African countries are still in a state of flux, and intergroup patterns are yet to be stabilized; nevertheless, these patterns may already be discerned in those areas where Africans have already assumed command of their destiny. There is wide variation in the new status structure from one area of Africa to another. In West Africa the upper-class Africans are in fact the elite; in general, this is true also of the African Horn (Ethiopia, the Sudan, and the Somalilands), where social change has been less rapid than in West Africa. In both of these areas the Europeans have become what might be called a marginally allied elite group functioning in varying degrees of intimacy with the new dominant African upper class. Since whites in these two areas are, on the whole, government, business, and diplomatic personnel, rather than settlers, they do not form an integral and permanent part of the population.

In other parts of sub-Sahara Africa the above-mentioned status pattern is hardly operative, since the number of Africans who occupy the top level is yet extremely small, and status patterns follow the classic colonial structure. In East Africa, varying degrees of advancement toward independence result in a mosaic of status patterns. The minority European group in Uganda, which is much like West Africa in the composition of its population, still maintains its uppermost social position, since political conflict has retarded African social and educational progress and unrest has hampered the Indians, whose indeterminate social position is not enhanced by the animosity borne by the Africans as they approach dominant status. Although Europeans are still the most privileged social stratum in Kenya, the rising African elite are beginning to insist upon sharing their prestige—unless the Europeans are willing to risk being supplanted entirely. Kenya's African and European leaders are making an effort to compose the differences between African and Indian, but the latter minority is far from certain of its future. One East African territory, Tanganyika, presents an unusual accommodation: here the European, Indian, African, and Arab peoples manage to function within what the present Chief Minister, Julius Nyerere, calls a "nonracial" social system. Europeans continue to have upper-class status, which is now shared with African, Indian, and Arab leaders who have taken over the major government positions.

As for the former Belgian Congo, the structure of its population and the certainty of eventual political and social control by Africans suggest that the latter will occupy the peak of the status-class ladder, while the status non-African minorities, particularly Europeans, will be determined by their socioeconomic positions, as in West Africa.

Europeans still dominate Central Africa, but within the Central African Federation the status picture takes on various hues. In Northern Rhodesia and even more strongly in Nyasaland, where whites are fewer, a small group of increasingly powerful African leaders is beginning to challenge the European monopoly of high status. The white settlers in Southern Rhodesia are still dominant. The status of Indians, especially in the Federation, is uncertain, particularly because of the increasingly overt antagonism exhibited toward them by Africans as the latter gain political stature.

In the Portuguese colonies of Mozambique and Angola a small minority of Europeans completely surpass all other peoples. Their status is as yet unchallenged by Africans, of whom only a miniscule number have acquired the education and other skills which alone can qualify them for higher rank as *cidadaos* or citizens (formerly *assimilados*).[6]

At the southernmost tip of the continent, in the Union of South Africa, Europeans are completely dominant. Although they are a minority, they are a sizable one—roughly one fifth of the total population. This one fifth controls all the major social institutions. A note should be inserted here about the fairly large number of Jews of South Africa.[7] Their social status has never been quite so secure as that of the Afrikaner or British-descended white, as the Afrikaner Nationalist Party and South African Nazi movement during the Second World War demonstrated. There has never been any question, however, that they belong to the top-ranked European socioracial class. The next status group in descending order is composed of mixed-blood Coloreds and the Indian. The Coloreds and Indians, however, vary in rank depending upon locale, with Coloreds occupying a higher place in Cape Province and Indians ranking above them in Natal.[8]

The inconsistencies found in the social status-class positions of non-African minorities briefly outlined here may be traced to a variety of factors: economic and political changes, which have occurred in varying degree from one region to another; the exercise of military and police control; the relative stage of colonial transition; and the state of social and political development of the Africans and other groups concerned. Against this background, it is obvious that a number of vital problems require serious and early analysis.

How has the change psychologically affected both the African majority and the non-African minority? Will Africans be able to provide, in both quality and quantity, sufficient leadership to meet the needs of all the basic social institutions in the new nations in which their social status has been upgraded? What has been the reaction of non-African minorities to the lowering of their previously privileged position? Will they remain in the new countries to serve beside or under Africans? Will they risk investing their private funds in local business ventures? How will the alteration in the status of non-Africans affect the policies of their home countries with regard to new African nations? Have patterns of social intermingling changed? How? Has a covert or overt pattern of segregation been maintained? Do Africans and non-Africans carry on social functions in separate groups and meet only at work? Will integrated social patterns develop? In what context, and to what degree? What elements in the situation will tend to encourage non-African minorities to remain in Africa? What elements will make them tend to leave, rather than accept their altered situations? On what bases can there be social as well as political accommodation to new status relationships? Considering the historical past of non-African and African

relations and the newness of the present reversal of social positions, what
are the possibilities of promoting participation of the non-African
minority peoples in community affairs? How will the altered status-
class pattern affect long-held and firmly fixed convictions about race on
the part of African and non-African? Is there any visible trend indicat-
ing that displaced non-African persons of formerly high status are
working with the new African majority to create community situations
in which members of the two groups can work together to solve com-
mon problems? Where African societies, as in Tanganyika, Kenya, the
Rhodesias, and South Africa, are destined to remain pluralistic, will new
basic social and philosophical commitments enable the various human
groups to move forward constructively without excessive preoccupation
with changes in social status? These are only some of the many questions
suggested by the changed and shifting social status of the non-Africans.

It is well to remember that modern Africa is still in a transitional
period and that it is too early to tell precisely what final form the
status structure of the African majority vis-a-vis the non-African mi-
nority will take. International developments will have some impact; the
nature and form of the political structure each nation adopts will affect
the outcome; and the attitude of modern African leadership, among
other things, will have significant bearing on the ultimate result. But
there is no question that the shift in power positions, resulting in a
virtual turnabout in social status and class positions, more sharply in
some places than in others, highlights the necessity for examining the
over-all problem in order to find and develop mechanisms by which the
former dominant non-African minority can be helped to adjust and
assimilate in what is, in effect, a new social, psychological, and even
physical environment, so that both the African and non-African can
make maximum contribution to the growth and development of the
African continent.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Population figures for Africa are to be taken simply as an order of
magnitude, since much population reporting from there is merely administrative
guesswork. The estimated population of the continent in 1956 was about 220
million, with nearly 80 per cent of it located in Africa south of the Sahara,
including the Malagasy Republic (Madagascar) and surrounding islands. People
of European origin numbered nearly 6 million, of whom one third lived in North
Africa, one half in the Union of South Africa, and the rest were spread out
unevenly in tropical Africa with substantial numbers living in Southern Rhodesia,
Kenya, and the then Belgian Congo. The Asians, mainly Indians and Pakistani,
numbered about 800,000, with most of them located in the eastern and southern

parts of the continent. Non-Africans of all derivations are predominantly urban dwellers. Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *Economic Survey of Africa Since 1950* (New York: United Nations, 1959), p. 5.

[2] It is understood that in a class society there is a hierarchy of status groups which is interrelated but not necessarily identical with the hierarchy of classes, and that this reciprocal and changing relationship between status groups and classes poses difficult conceptual problems in the analysis of class and status systems. In the analysis here *status* is used to refer to the differentiation of deference and prestige among individuals and groups, while *class* is defined as aggregates of persons and families occupying varying social levels arising from differences in occupation, property, income, and education. In this paper both terms are used interchangeably and are synonymous in meaning with a prestige-power complex serving as the core of both concepts. For insights into these two concepts, see Kurt B. Mayer, *Class and Society* (Doubleday Short Studies in Sociology) (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955) ; Harold W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology*, 58:391-418; Joel B. Montague, Jr., "Class or Status Society," *Sociology and Social Research*, 40:333-38; George Simpson, "Class Analysis: What Class Is Not," *American Sociological Review*, 4:827-35; Bernard Barber, *Social Stratification* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1957).

[3] W. R. Crocker has set forth reasons for this in Chapter 2, "The Basis of the Colonial Relationship," in his *Self-Government for the Colonies* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.), 1949.

[4] Kenneth Little, "The African Elite in British West Africa," in Andrew W. Lind, *Race Relations in World Perspective* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955), p. 272.

[5] For the pattern as now structured in the largest populated African country, see Hugh H. Smythe, "Social Stratification in Nigeria," *Social Forces*, 37:168-71; and Hugh H. Smythe and Mabel M. Smythe, "Occupation and Upper-Class Formation in Nigeria," *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Vol. 41, No. 3.

[6] James Duffy, *Portuguese Africa* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959) ; Marvin Harris, *Portugal's African "Wards,"* Africa Today Pamphlets No. 2 (New York: American Committee on Africa), 1958; Homer A. Jack, *Angola*, pamphlet (New York: American Committee on Africa, 1960).

[7] Gwendolen M. Carter, *The Politics of Inequality: South Africa Since 1948* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1958), especially pp. 221, 239, and 274; Gustav Saron and Hans Hotz, editors, *The Jews in South Africa, A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1955).

[8] L. Kuper, H. Watts, and R. Davies, *Durban: A Study in Racial Ecology* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958) ; Gwendolen M. Carter, *op. cit.*, especially Chapter 1 on "What the Nationalists Inherited"; Sheila Patterson, *Color and Culture in South Africa* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1953) ; J. S. Marais, *The Cape Colored People* (London, 1939) ; John H. Wellington, *Southern Africa*, Vol. II, Economic and Human Geography (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955), "The Colored People," pp. 232-40.

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS
OF CERTAIN SOCIAL SELF CONCEPTS
OF WOMEN
IN A CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION

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ABSTRACT
Comparisons were made among three differently structured administrations (actual, ideal, and would-be selves) of a social insight test for 52 women prison inmates, and with norms for other select groups. Independent organization was obtained for each administration, but only the actual and ideal scores bore significant relationships. About half of the inmate scores paralleled typical norms, while the remainder were at odds with such norms.

This study was concerned with making a psychological analysis of certain social self concepts for 52 select inmates in a California correctional institution for adult women. It is a portion of a larger study designed to isolate and identify personality dynamics that serve as catalysts for deviant and criminal behavior in individuals, and with the further development and implementation of prevention and correctional programs designed to modify and control such dynamics.

GROUP

The 52 adult women inmates involved in this study were committed for a variety of crimes ranging from forgery and embezzlement to homicide. Approximately 42 per cent of them had a history of drug addiction. As a group, they constituted the total enrollment in a voluntary college-level course in general psychology, which was taught by Mrs. Clayton within the confines of the institution, and over a 3 months' period. All of the participants were high school graduates, and above average intelligence. They ranged in age from 20 to 56 years, with a mean (M) age of 34.34, and with a standard deviation (SD) of 8.19 years. They all volunteered to participate in the study, and they expressed enthusiastic interest in an interpretation of their test data.

SELF CONCEPT NOTIONS

Four independently organized self concepts are deemed important to the personality dynamics underlying crime and deviant behavior, and

three of the four concepts bear a direct relationship to the earlier "psychic structure" as described by Sigmund Freud (6):

Actual Status Self. This represents the individual as he perceives himself, and it is tempered and forged by the totality of one's learned and conditioned experiences. It is the manner in which one believes that he behaves and resolves personal adjustments. The actual self bears a direct relationship to the "ego" of Freud, or the conscious self.

Would-be Status Self. This represents the individual as he would like to be in the complete absence of self control, and in a state of unrestricted freedom; where there are no rules or laws, and one's conscience has taken a holiday. It is related to the "id" as described by Freud and it includes the unconscious desires of man.

Ideal Status Self. This represents what the individual believes to be an ideal state or condition for his own group membership, and for the social order in which he lives and communes. It is related to the "super ego" of Freud and is tempered largely by one's conscience. It often serves as a "blue print" or plan for action, when the individual desires. Usually, the parents, the school, and the church are concerned with developing this concept, and it is sometimes referred to as the "ego ideal."

Social Status Self. Freud did not describe a counterpart for this self concept, but it represents the perceptions one has of his peers, and the way or manner which an individual believes other persons in his own group membership act or behave. This latter self concept was not utilized in this study, while the first three were.

TEST UTILIZED

The Test of Social Insight (Adult Edition) (2) was utilized as a basis for the analysis of the social self concepts. The separate social problems presented in the 60 items of the test are distributed in four different areas of life drama: (1) home and family relations, (2) authority figures and social agencies, (3) play and avocational interests, and (4) work and vocational interests. The five choices provided for each of the 60 items constitute the five-part scores on the test, i.e., withdrawal, passivity, cooperation, competition, and aggression. The total score is a composite from the best weighting of the part scores that discerns in optimum terms between persons who are inmates in a correctional institution and typical individuals.

Test Administration. The same test was administered as a portion of the general psychology course by the instructor, and on three separate meetings of the class. The first time they were asked to answer the

items the way in which they believed they would solve the social problems
if they were to face them now. The second time they were asked to
.   er the same questions the way which they believed was the ideal
manner to solve the problems. The third time they were asked to answer
the same questions the way in which they would like to solve the
problems if there were no rules or regulations, and "your conscience
would take a vacation."

Scores obtained for the three separately structured administrations
(actual, ideal, and would-be selves) of the social insight test were first
compared with one another by determining the significance of differences
between means and standard deviations; then Pearson correlations were
computed among the scores for the three self concepts; and finally
comparisons were made between the means for the self concepts and
means for varying select groups of individuals, some of whom were
matched groups of male and female adult prisoners.

FINDINGS

Independent Organization. The three social self concepts analyzed
in this study (actual, would-be, and ideal) appear to have independent
organization (8).

Interrelationships. Only the actual and ideal selves are significantly
related to each other ($r = .442$).

Subordination of Ideal Self. Two rather clear-cut patterns of responses
are evident among the total scores on the TSI for the 52 women inmates,
in terms of data contained in the test manual (2). These data purport
that total scores on the TSI distribute on a continuum scale ranging
from a low of 13.00 for United States Air Forces Chaplains to a high
of 26.00 for in-prison male adult inmates, and with less socially mature
persons receiving the highest scores. Twenty-four of the women inmates
received total scores on the TSI for the three social self scorings that
were consistent with findings reported in the manual, i.e., the would-be
self choices reflecting least social maturity, the ideal reflecting greatest
social maturity, and the self status being in between the other two.
Twenty-three of the women inmates received total scores on the TSI for
two of the three social self scorings that were a reverse of the findings
in the manual, i.e., the ideal choices were less mature than the self status
ones, but the would-be choices were least mature of the three. Five of
the total scores were inconsistent, and did not fall in either of these
categories.

TSI PART SCORE COMPARISONS

Actual Status Self. Characterized by a cooperative and passive pattern for resolving social conflict.

Would-be Self. Characterized by an aggressive and competitive pattern for resolving social conflict.

Ideal self. Characterized by a passive and cooperative pattern for resolving social conflict.

SUMMARY

This study was concerned with making a psychological analysis of certain social self concepts for 52 select inmates in a California correctional institution for adult women. It involved the comparison of total scores on the Test of Social Insight for three separate administrations: (1) actual status self—the way the individual believed she would personally resolve 60 social problems, (2) would-be status self—the way an individual would like to resolve the same 60 social problems if her conscience took a holiday and there were no rules, and (3) ideal status self—the ideal way of resolving social problems as perceived by the individual. The findings indicate that the three social self concepts have independent organization, that only the actual and ideal selves are significantly related to each other, and that two rather clear-cut patterns of social self concepts are present among the 52 women inmates, i.e., one similar to typical individuals, and one where the actual and ideal selves are reversed.

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2 Cassel, *The Test of Social Insight and Manual*, Martin M. Bruce, publisher (New York: New Rochelle, 1959).

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AMERICAN LABOR AND CAPITALISM
IN THE SIXTIES

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ABSTRACT

In the 1960's the typical large American organization has become a "business" union, heading toward institutional rigidity and a loss of its missionary or idealistic spirit. Not only labor unions in the United States today but also business corporations are in danger of being supplanted unless each puts the welfare of all the people ahead of its struggles for organizational power over the other, and over the nation.

Permanent unionism in the United States began timidly in the decade preceding the Civil War; and, up to 1935, the year in which the Wagner Act was placed upon the federal statute books, American labor organizations, composed chiefly of skilled craftsmen, were clearly on the defensive. They were the underdogs in a bitter struggle with other groups for higher money wages, shorter work periods, and the dignity of men working with their hands.

Until a generation ago, the typical labor leader was poorly paid; but he was a devoted man endowed with the missionary spirit. He came from a depressed group and worked hard and incessantly to raise the status of the workingman, particularly the skilled man. Among such leaders may be mentioned Seth Luther, William H. Sylvis, Samuel Gompers, and John Mitchell.

At the opening of the present century about one million American workers were organized. In 1929, preceding the Great Depression, slightly more than four million were in the ranks of organized labor. Foreshadowed by the anti-injunction act of 1932 and the Industrial Recovery Act of 1933, the Wagner Act opened a new era in the relations between labor and management. This famous Act declared that workers have the right to organize, provided protection for unions, and encouraged collective bargaining. It was an important step in group relations.

Immediately thereafter, the membership of American unions increased rapidly. Various mass production industries, including the steel and automobile industries, were organized. Industrial unionism, which had been represented by the coal miners and the brewery workers, became important factors in labor-management relations. The CIO was formed.

By 1947, the strength and prestige of organized labor were considerable. Organized workers no longer could accurately be called underdogs

in comparison with employing corporations. The passage of the Taft-Hartley Act indicated that labor organizations, not unlike corporations at the beginning of the century, were becoming powerful and arrogant. A new epoch in American economic and labor history had opened.

The typical large American labor organization is now a "business" union. Its officers are still coming largely from the ranks of labor; but the labor leader is now well paid and well clothed, and middle class in outlook. He is interested in gaining a status comparable to the business executive. To one on the sidelines, it appears that many labor leaders are primarily concerned with their own future power and prestige, and only secondarily interested in the welfare of the rank and file members —except, of course, that members must be kept reasonably well satisfied. Labor leaders of today are "men of power," comparable to those in the upper ranks of the management group; but they have not as yet beeen generally accepted socially by management leaders.

The president of a large union surrounds himself with lawyers, accountants, and other experts. Many unions have surplus funds for strikes, pensions, etc. Unions are buying into many lines of business— banking, hotels, motels, office and apartment buildings. The teamsters are said to control a Miami bank and the coal miners one in Washington, D.C. One powerful union is reported to have received an investment income, in 1959, of 1.7 million dollars.

As might be expected, labor leaders have drawn away from close touch with the rank and file members. With few exceptions they adopt the ethics of business. The crusading spirit has faded out of the picture. Opposition within the union is considered to be treachery toward the leaders and toward the union. American unions are still dominated by war psychology. The leaders and many of the rank and file feel that any legislator or other person who opposes them in regard to any item of their current program is an enemy. The established union leader is bitterly opposed to "upstarts."

In the last twenty or thirty years, American corporate enterprises have changed greatly in their attitude toward the public and toward labor unions, although no two corporations are exactly alike in their handling of labor and public relations. Labor leaders and unions have also undergone significant modifications in these years. Unions differ markedly in methods and attitudes. For example, the building trades may be contrasted with the steelworkers, the typographical union with the coal miners, and the machinists with the teamsters.

Goaded by competition between different unions over higher money wages, fringe benefits, and other desired features, the leaders of a par-

ticular union try strenuously to prove that they can get more for their members than other leaders gain through collective bargaining and strikes. As a result of this competitive struggle between various unions, their leaders have failed to recognize in an adequate fashion that corporations today are dominated by men who own little of the property they control and direct, and that the aims and methods adopted in labor and community relations by management today differ notably from those followed in the last decade of the nineteenth century.

With the growth of interdependence in economic and social life, the role of the federal government in limiting the arbitrary and the antisocial activities of labor unions, as well as of business units, has been of increasing importance. In the new decade, this trend is almost certain to continue. One specific case may be suggested: long stoppages in the operation of a key industry will not be tolerated as they will cause widespread suffering because of the stoppage. The older right to strike will be definitely challenged by the newer "right" of the general public to insist upon a steady flow of necessities and seminecessities. The newer right will eventually win. In several West European countries, "the strike no longer plays a significant role."[1]

With this background, remembering that for a few years before 1960 the gains in total union membership in the United States were not encouraging to the friends of unionism,[2] the reader may be prepared to look forward into the Sixties. What is to be the effect of automation and other technological changes upon labor-management relations, and upon the status of labor organizations? A brief outline of the problems which are confronting organized labor today will serve to focus the attention upon the need for American unions to avoid institutional rigidity in this day of fluidity in business and social life—if organized labor is to serve as a vital and helpful instrument in industrial and international relations.

1. With automation and the increasing emphasis upon research are coming rapid changes in the type of workers demanded in mass production, in office work, and to a lesser degree in other lines of business endeavor. As the machine displaces the repetitive worker on the assembly line, in routine office work, and elsewhere, the demand for unskilled and semiskilled workers declines and the call for technicians, skilled workers, engineers, accountants, and scientific research workers becomes more insistent. By 1959, the number of white-collar men and women workers probably exceeded the blue-collar employees. The former usually speak of having a "position" rather than a "job." They are paid "salaries" instead of "wages." Service and clerical workers are also increasing

relative to "production" employees. During the decade of the Sixties, an unusual number of young men and women who were teenagers in the Fifties will enter the labor market. In contrast with earlier decades, many of these young workers will be high school and college graduates.

The workers who in the recent past have joined industrial unions are of the group which is declining relative to other labor groups. What has been an important source of union membership is drying up. On the other hand, many members of other labor groups have been difficult for organized labor to recruit. This is important in certain rapidly expanding service industries which are employing more and more workers— hotels, motels, amusement facilities, restaurants, and repair shops. To date, significant union successes in this field are few. A similar conclusion must be reached in regard to organizing workers in office, store, and research laboratory. Between 1955 and 1960, the number in the "organizable work force" had increased while the number of organized workers remained at about the same level. A new type of approach or change in emphasis will evidently be required of unions if they are to attract these growing groups of workers into the union fold, unless management displays very poor judgment in the field of labor relations.

2.   At the risk of some repetition, it may be pointed out that technical workers, scientists, draftsmen, engineers, teachers, and social workers, with some exceptions, do not feel an urge to join unions as at present directed. In recent years, management has gained in power and prestige relative to stockholders. Broadly defined, management includes account- ants, engineers, experts in electronics and in research in a variety of special fields, superintendents and foremen in plants, and sundry other persons in the growing bureaucracy of industry. Salaried white-collar workers, who consider themselves to be an integral part of management and who are nearly all college graduates, are not easily interested in joining a union. These are "organization men" and women. They are definitely middle class in outlook and interests. The American middle class continues to grow relative to the rich or the poor. This large and diverse group is deeply interested in its standard of living—in gadgets, cars, household appliances, TV, and radios—often to the neglect of political and social matters not directly tied to economic problems.

3.   The women employed in clerical and service activities have not exhibited notable enthusiasm for unionism. Few women have been admitted into the officialdom of labor organizations, even in the garment industry where the women workers are numerous.

4.   In a considerable, but decreasing, number of unions some form of discrimination against the Negro exists. This attitude, and the bitter

opposition of Southern employers aided by segregation sentiment, has to date reduced the actual numbers of Negro workers in the ranks of organized labor. A well-known Southern observer, Hodding Carter, writes: The young Negro has a "special contempt for the union leadership and rank and file which proffers the shadow, but not the substance, of job equality."[3]

5. Of the one hundred and thirty-odd autonomous unions belonging to the AFL-CIO, a large percentage are small national unions. The great majority of the federated unions have memberships of less than 100,000. Small unions are usually weak. Sucessful organization drives by them are difficult of attainment.

6. Jurisdictional disputes between unions, federated or not, often put the brakes upon movements for further organization. Today, the prospects for the elimination of these disputes are not bright.

7. As has been suggested, organized labor in the United States has lost nearly all of its missionary or idealistic spirit. Business unionism is now uppermost. Wages, seniority, pensions, big strike funds, etc., seem to occupy the center of the stage. Union rules in regard to output and seniority appear to be slanted in favor of the mediocre and against the man of ability, initiative, and efficiency. There are signs that certain labor leaders are turning toward interest in community and world problems. The president of an important AFL-CIO union recently declared in the official publication of his organization "that we will be in a better position to see the role of the Union in terms of the broader roles of the community and the country."[4] The weak pre-Civil War unions and some of the ephemeral unions of the post-War period attempted to engage in political activities in order to gain favorable legislation. There are clear indications of a returning interest in politics. Labor in recent years has stood for social security legislation, for minimum wage laws, and against any legislation which endangered its legal and traditional immunities.

At the opening of the decade of the Sixties organized labor was favored by certain immunities, legal or otherwise, in its struggle for power and prestige. Antitrust acts do not apply to labor. In mass picketing in the streets and highways, for example, striking workers often use violence, without police interference, against persons who try to gain access to the business establishment picketed, violence which, if indulged in by other groups, would result in numerous arrests.[5] A powerful union was able to shut down an entire industry in the steel dispute of 1959. The teamsters could practically stop all the wheels of industry in the entire nation. With further advances in automation this danger may

be lessened. However, the Civil Rights Act of 1960 provides that labor unions as well as others may be brought into a federal court if court orders against mass picketing and other harassing methods are ignored.

According to this bystander, from the foregoing discussion and in the midst of dynamic technological changes and international competition with the Soviets, two conclusions as to the trend of unionism and capitalism in the Sixties may be reached.

1. The traditional middle-class point of view is out of date. Unless the leaders in the world of American business and labor leaders soon begin to see more clearly than today that the various groups which make up the world of capitalism and democracy must more actively seek the betterment of human living, the United States is in danger of failing in the competitive struggle with Communism. In that event, labor organizations such as the American unions of today, and our business corporations as well, will be in grave danger of being discarded. The decade of the Sixties may, indeed, prove to be a significant cross-road for American labor and for American democracy and capitalism.

2. If we are successfully to meet the confident challenge of the Soviets, Americans in and outside labor organizations must find a way to give the gifted child, early in his life, an opportunity to make the most of his special talents. Americans generally must be prepared to fight vigorously the "blight of mediocrity." If not, the United States may become a second-class nation ere the decade ends. Specifically, labor organizations are called upon to put a stop to the frustration of the rapid and good worker. The man who increases his output above a low average is too often pictured by unions to be a menace to his fellow workers. Furthermore, unfortunately the goal of many Americans is security and conformity. Too few are encouraged in school, in business, and in unions to do original thinking, to use imagination, to take reasonable risks, and to break the cake of outgrown tradition and custom. In the Sixties, unions, if they are to move forward, must find ways to encourage the above-average worker without penalizing the slower and less alert men.

Finally, if American labor organizations in the Sixties fail to overcome in a large measure the obstacles outlined above, if they fail to adopt programs geared to human betterment rather than to money wages, hours of labor, and fringe benefits irrespective of effects upon inflation and general welfare, if they continue to favor mediocrity, and if they fail to cease badgering the above-average workers, little progress in unionization and in influence may be anticipated in the near future. And, if unionism fails in these respects, the future of the American

nation may be clouded. To forecast that the decade of the Sixties will determine the result of the fierce race between the capitalism and democracy of the West and the Soviet dictatorship, is not unreasonable.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Monthly Labor Review*, March, 1960, p. 230.

[2] According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the total American union membership declined by nearly 400,000, 1956-1958. The total in 1958 was 18.1 millions.

[3] *New York Times Magazine*, May 1, 1960, p. 118.

[4] *CWA News*, May 1960, p. 4.

[5] See Roscoe Pound in *Labor Unions and Public Policy*, pp. 145ff.

THE STATUS OF TEACHING SOCIOLOGY IN HIGH SCHOOLS

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ABSTRACT

High school sociology appears to be neglected in the secondary curriculum. Available evidence indicates that sociology teachers are inadequately trained and devote only a small part of their teaching to sociology. Many high school texts are of doubtful quality, and many schools do not use them. Professional sociologists have evidenced little concern.

Although sociology has been accepted on the college level, there is little indication that we are ready to recognize fully the field on the secondary school level. Sociological offerings are numerous in the college curricula with many colleges requiring at least an introductory class in the field as a part of general education requirements. Most, if not all, of those preparing to teach in the social sciences on the secondary level are required to take a basic number of hours in sociology. Certainly a basic understanding of the traditional concepts of sociology is most helpful in understanding human behavior and may well be regarded as essential to a college education. Might not the same be said of high school education? Sociology has much to offer the student on the secondary level.

The conceptualization of the sociological approach to the study of human behavior is indeed a basic frame of reference to which every high school student needs to be exposed. Sociology offers an orientation not found in history or in any of the social sciences with the possible exception of cultural anthropology, a subject seldom offered in the high school curriculum. This sociological orientation is necessary if the student is to understand intelligently the complexities of the society in which he lives. It is necessary if he is to relate himself intelligently to that society.

No attempt will be made to list or discuss the various sociological concepts which have utility for the high school course in sociology. This paper will not discuss the content or structure of high school sociology or try to "sell" anyone on its merits.[1]

What is the situation in our secondary schools with respect to the teaching of sociology? Available data are not encouraging. There is sufficient information to indicate that little is being done. High school sociology has not attained the status to which it is entitled in the high school social science curriculum, according to the author's viewpoint.

The writer has given attention to several factors regarding high school sociology. These include: the inadequate training of many who are teaching sociology; the quality of the texts in the field; the texts that are being used in some sociology classes; the small number of high school students enrolled in sociology; the low percentage of freshmen entering college who have taken sociology; the low percentage of sociology classes taught by social studies teachers; last, the apparent lack of concern for this situation on the part of the major organization of professional sociologists, the American Sociological Association. These factors will be considered.

Training of Teachers. In a recent study of Illinois social science teachers, it was reported that more than 82 per cent of those teaching one or more classes in sociology had had fewer than thirteen semester hours in the field. This represented twenty-three of twenty-eight teachers of sociology. Nine, or approximately 32 per cent, had fewer than eight hours in the field. Minimum state certification requirements were not met in the latter case.[2] Are these teachers able to do justice to the subject matter? If this study is representative of all teachers of sociology in the country, the high school teaching of the subject may indeed be in a bad way. It is a fair guess that teachers with no more than twelve hours in the field are not teaching sociology, but some sort of a problems course with little, if any, sociological conceptualization being employed. Twelve hours of preparation in sociology would not ordinarily prepare one to deal adequately with the basic concepts in the field.

Textbooks. The texts designed for high school sociology are, for the most part, not conducive to a conceptually grounded class in the field. At present there are perhaps no more than three strictly high school sociology texts.[3] They vary in their sociological orientation, but none, in the opinion of this writer, is of sufficient depth. This is especially true when one considers that sociology is usually offered at the twelfth-grade level. Most, if not all, recommendations for the high school social science curriculum include sociology at the twelfth-grade level.[4] The Anderson report, probably one of the most extensive ever undertaken regarding enrollments and offerings in high school social science, does not present any figures for enrollments in sociology below the twelfth-grade level.[5] The writer would suggest that relatively little difference exists between the high school senior and the college freshman.

We may also recognize that sociology tends to be an elective subject, thus probably attracting the interested student. Further, a high proportion, 47.1 per cent, of high school seniors plan to attend college, and an additional 19.9 per cent are uncertain regarding their plans to attend

college.[6] The above facts suggest that both the high school sociology text and the course be pitched at a responsible level.[7]

Although there may be some difference of opinion concerning the quality of available texts, the above facts indicate the need to subject them to serious analysis. The paucity of adequate texts, in the opinion of this writer, has "forced" him into the position of using a college text in his classes in sociology at the high school level.

Textbooks Used. It is regrettable that even the available texts are not being used in some high school classes in sociology. Data collected by the writer reveal the following regarding thirty-two Illinois schools offering a course called "sociology." Fourteen, or 43 per cent, used a text designed for the high school course in sociology. Of the remaining eighteen schools, fifteen used some type of problems text and three reported either the use of pamphlets or "no text."[8] Although there is no claim that this is a representative sample, the question must be asked, is this representative of all high school "sociology" classes in the country?

Students Enrolled. The extent of offerings in high school sociology appears to be very limited when viewed in terms of the students enrolled. Mr. G. L. Roehr, Consultant for the Bureau of Secondary Education of the California Department of Education, reports, for example, that for the five-year period ending October, 1956, the percentage of California students enrolled in classes labeled "sociology" represented less than one half of one per cent of all the social studies enrollments for grades nine through twelve.[9] The Anderson study representing the situation in 1946-1947 indicates that only 6.5 per cent of all senior pupil-semester hours was consumed by sociology and social problems.[10] Sociology probably represented the smaller of the two areas.

Dr. Ward S. Mason, Head, Teacher Personnel Statistics Unit, United States Office of Education, reports that in 1948-1949, "the percentage of pupils in public secondary day schools taking sociology was three and four-tenths per cent."[11] The New York State Education Department reports that, "there are very few schools in New York State that offer courses in sociology."[12]

College Freshmen. Freshmen entering college are relatively unexposed to sociology if the incoming freshmen at Illinois State Normal University, with students drawn primarily from the central Illinois area, are representative of what is happening. According to data collected the fall of 1958, 16.4 per cent of one thousand twenty-two entering freshmen reported they had taken a course called "sociology." The percentage taking "sociology" had changed negligibly since 1953 and 1954. For that two-year period, 16.1 per cent of one thousand sixty-three entering freshmen reported having taken "sociology."[13]

The above percentages for college freshmen having taken "sociology" seem to be higher than those suggested earlier for all high school students. It appears college-bound students tend to elect sociology to a greater extent than the average high school student. Even so, 16 per cent cannot be considered a high percentage. It is, of course, possible that the above college students are not representative. In the Wellman study, for example, of three hundred and five Illinois secondary teachers of social science, sociology represented less than 2 per cent of all the social science classes taught by these teachers.[14]

One must keep in mind that the reporting by both the college freshmen and the teachers is very subjective and it appears, as a matter of fact, that the case for sociology may have been overstated in the above instances. Undoubtedly a number of "sociology" classes were reported when they would actually have been better classified under some type of "problems" heading.

Teaching Load in Sociology. The Illinois study also reveals some other interesting material related to the quality of teaching being done in high school sociology. Of the twenty-eight teachers of sociology only two could be regarded as full-time teachers in the field: one teaching five sections and the other, four sections. It may be observed that the twenty-eight teachers of sociology represent 9 per cent of all the teachers in the study. This, however, does not give an accurate picture when viewed in terms of teacher class load. Twenty-five teachers taught less than three sections of sociology: eleven taught two sections and fourteen taught one section. Only three of the twenty-eight teachers of sociology taught three or more sections of that subject.[15]

Professional Lack of Concern. Who is concerned about the quality and status of high school sociology? On the basis of this limited information, apparently not many are concerned. The American Sociological Association, the major professional organization of sociologists, appears to have taken little interest in the subject. The Chairman of the Association's Liaison Committee on Sociology in Education was unable to provide any specific information and stated that the Association had not "done any survey of high school offering" in sociology.[16] The 1959 Council of the Association at the Annual meeting on September 2, 1959, instructed the Committee on the Profession to "keep under consideration the problem of sociological content in the secondary school curricula and in the training of teachers."[17] This seems, however, to be the extent of the Association's activity in the field.

If not the organization of professional sociologists, who then will be interested? We can hardly use the organization of professional sociol-

ogists as a scapegoat, although it is regrettable they have not done any more than what is presently apparent. It would appear that the job is left to the few teachers in the field and to others who recognize what sociology has to offer. We will have to "sell" sociology to those responsible for planning secondary school curricula if we expect it to attain to the position to which it is entitled in the high school social science program.

FOOTNOTES

[1] For a consideration of content in the high school sociology course, see J. F. Cuber, "Cultural Sociology," *Social Education*, 4:121; J. A. Kinneman, "Institutions in the Curriculum," *ibid.*, 4:165; R. Redfield, "The Study of Culture in General Education," *ibid.*, 11:259; *Report of the State Central Committee on Social Studies* (Sacramento: California State Department of Education, November, 1959), pp. 64-70; *Tentative Course of Study, Sociology*, Cincinnati Public Schools (Cincinnati: Curriculum Bulletin No. 206, 1954).

[2] Fred L. Wellman, "Social Science Teachers in Illinois High Schools, Their Preparation and Teaching Assignments" (unpublished M.S. Thesis, Illinois State Normal University, 1959), p. 91.

[3] William E. Cole and Charles S. Montgomery, *High School Sociology* (Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1959); Paul H. Landis, *Social Living* (Ginn and Company, 1958); James A. Quinn and Arthur Depke, *Living in the Social World* (J. B. Lippincott Company, 1956).

[4] See, for example, Emlyn Jones, "Analysis of Social Studies Requirements," *Social Education*, 18:257; Howard P. Anderson, "Offerings and Registrations in Social Studies," *ibid.*, 14:73; *Teacher Education: Social Studies in Illinois* (Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois, December, 1958).

[5] Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[6] United States Bureau of Census, *Farm Population*, Series Census-AMS (P-27), No. 27, April 29, 1960, "Table A, Plans to Attend College for High School Seniors, By Residence and Sex: Civilian Noninstitutional Population, October, 1959," p. 1.

[7] Although the high school course lends itself to some flexibility, a thorough sociological orientation needs to be maintained. For the college-bound senior it should be of the substance offered college freshmen. The better student should be well equipped to "proficiency out" of the freshman college sociology course. For the noncollege-bound student, the course should also maintain a sound sociological orientation. This is not to imply a simple reiteration of sociological concepts. Neither does this preclude the resourceful teacher from using any of the representative teaching techniques where they prove fruitful. High school sociology should, however, be taught within a sociological frame of reference, limiting itself to material both directly and traditionally related to the field.

[8] Twelve of the fifteen used some edition of Landis, *Social Living*. This information was collected in the fall of 1959.

[9] Personal communication, September 25, 1958.

[10] Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 74

[11] Personal communication, September 15, 1959.

[12] Personal communication from Laura M. Shufelt, Associate in Secondary Curriculum, The State Education Department, Albany 1, New York, September 28, 1959.

[13] These data were collected by Dr. John A. Kinneman, Chairman of the Department of Social Sciences, Illinois State Normal University, Normal, Illinois.

[14] Wellman, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

[16] Personal communication from Dr. Wilbur B. Brookover, July 21, 1959.

[17] *American Sociological Review*, 24:865.

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE
AS A SOCIOPOLITICAL INSTITUTION

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ABSTRACT

The Electoral College has never been a wholly satisfactory sociopolitical institution. Four major proposals for changing it and even for abolishing it have been made in recent years, but none has been adopted. An official social science study committee is needed to make a thorough examination and to report its findings to the Congress and to the people of the United States.

About every four years the Electoral College as devised by the framers of the Constitution of the United States receives critical attention. Over seventy amendments to the Constitution have been introduced into Congress looking toward a revision of Electoral College procedure, including measures for its abolition.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE PROBLEMS

The Electoral College was never a wholly satisfactory sociopolitical institution. It has been referred to as "one of the few mistakes" made by the writers of the Constitution. James Madison has been quoted as saying that the provisions for establishing the Electoral College constituted one of the last problems taken up by the authors of the Constitution. Hence, it was drawn up when nearly everyone was "fatigued and impatient."[1]

It ran into trouble as early as 1800. In that year Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson received the same number of electoral votes. Then, according to Article II, Section 1, of the Constitution, the election went to the House of Representatives, and again, after much political maneuvering, Burr and Jefferson received the identical number of votes. Political haggling and turmoil continued for weeks, and a compromise was not effected until about three days before inauguration on March 4, 1801.[2] Thus, from early in November when the election was held until the beginning of the following March no one in the United States knew who the next president of the nation would be.

In 1804 it was decided that the original provision of having each elector vote for two men, with the result that the candidate receiving the largest number of electoral votes would be declared president and the candidate with the second largest vote would become vice-president, was no longer satisfactory. Consequently, the Twelfth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted, providing that the electors shall vote for president and vice-president separately.

As time went on, political parties developed and grew in strength. They were not provided for in the Constitution. They came to insist that the electors should vote as the political party vote went in each state, and not exercise any longer their own free choice of candidates. Hence, the electors became rubber stamps, a result not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution.

As a matter of fact there is no legal provision that indicates how the electors shall vote, but public opinion and party loyalty have been social control factors of great importance. Thus, nearly all electors vote for president according to the way the popular votes go that are received in each state by the candidates of the respective political parties.

Another type of failure of the Electoral College as an institution for electing a president of the United States occurred in 1824, 1876, and 1888. In all these presidential elections the candidate for president who received the highest (or higher) popular vote was defeated by the Electoral College vote or the vote in the House of Representatives.

In 1824, Andrew Jackson received 155,000 popular votes, but John Quincy Adams with only 105,000 popular votes was elected president in the House of Representatives, there being a tie in the Electoral College voting.

In 1876, Samuel J. Tilden received 4,284,000 popular votes against 4,033,000 votes for Rutherford B. Hayes, but the Electoral College vote finally went after much political haggling and the arousal of deep ill feelings on both sides to Hayes—by one electorial vote.

In 1888, Grover Cleveland received 5,540,000 votes to 5,444,000 for Benjamin Harrison, but the Electoral College voted for Harrison 333 to 168 votes for Cleveland.

As a result of the Electoral system, three presidents have been elected on less than a majority of the popular votes. These "minority presidents," as they have been called, were Lincoln in 1860, Wilson in 1912, and Truman in 1948. In 1944 (Roosevelt versus Dewey), a 53 per cent popular vote gave the winning candidate 81 per cent of the Electoral College vote.

As at present operated, the Electoral College institution is what has been called a "winner takes all" system. Since in a given state the popular vote may be almost evenly divided between two candidates for president, all the electoral votes for president go to the candidate with the most (or the more) votes, and the popular votes for the other candidate (or candidates) count for nothing in the Electoral College voting.

Usually the electors are individuals unknown to the public. Moreover, in some states their names appear on the ballot but no names of the actual candidates for president. In some states the names of the electors do not appear on the ballot. In some states the names of the presidential candidates and of the electors both appear.[3] This lack of system indicates that provincialism is still operative at a vital sociopolitical point in our election methods.

Individual leaders in the Senate and the House recognize the problems represented by the Electoral College and have presented changes in the Constitution which would remedy the Electoral system's shortcomings.[4] The leading four proposals will now be presented.

PROPOSED CHANGES

To meet the weaknesses of the Electoral College institution (for it has become an institution over the decades since its creation), four proposals stand out as having received the most favorable comments, although only one progressed far enough to obtain the necessary two-thirds vote of the Senate, while none has come near reaching this goal in the House of Representatives. The four proposals may be designated as (1) Proportional Division, (2) Congressional District Voting, (3) Total Vote of the Nation, and (4) Combination of Proportional Division and Congressional District Voting.

Proportional Division. It has been proposed to divide the Electoral College votes of each state according to the popular votes in each state. On February 1, 1950, a Constitutional Amendment was passed by the Senate, 64 to 33 (three more votes than the two thirds required). It would carry the proportional division of electoral votes to a fraction of a vote, to three decimal points of a single vote if necessary. The Amendment was decisively defeated in the House.

This propsed Amendment was strongly favored and seriously opposed. It was favored because it might further the two-party system in states where one political party or the other is in more or less complete domination. It would "fortify the two-party system." At present, it is contended that in an overwhelming Democratic state, for instance, a considerable number of Republican voters do not exercise their right of suffrage, for they know that, as a minority, their votes will not affect the electoral votes of their state; or in an overwhelmingly Republican state some Democratic voters may not vote, for the same reason. It was argued that proportional division would be more representative of the wishes of all the people and, hence, more democratic than the present system.

On the other hand, it was believed that proportional division of the electoral votes of each state would be against the political interests of the more populous states (a point that has been used as an argument for the proportional procedure).[5] Under the present order a political party may gain all the electoral votes by wielding in its interest a given large minority group. In other words, at present a political party can use minorities to swing a whole state's electoral votes to itself.[6] Hence, some politicians do not want a change, and oppose proportional representation.

Further, the opponents argued that the dividing of electoral votes according to the numbers of popular votes would encourage the development of "splinter parties." A strong leader might gather a considerable number of followers in a given area, establish a political party on the basis of opposition to some plan of a parent political party, and garner electoral votes. Another "strong man" might do the same, and the country would fall prey to "a multiple party" dilemma.

In 1934, Senator Vandenburg called multiple parties one of the continental curses of Europe. Hitler came into power partly because, it has been claimed, there were over twenty political parties all vying for power in Germany, with action stalemated, and with the people tired of inaction and willing to throw their support to a strong program of one of their multiple political groups.

The proportional division plan, it has been noted, was not objected to by either the extreme right or the extreme left in the United States, each of whom may see a possibility of coming into power through its adoption.[7] It might further what has been called "bloc government," or government by one of several political "blocs," or by a coalition of "blocs." But "bloc government" does not promote democratic government. It might encourage "a strong man" government, that is, autocratic rule.

Voting by Congressional Districts. In 1955 another proposal was introduced in the United States Senate for making the Electoral College institution into something more representative of the people's wishes. The Mundt plan, as the new measure was called, provided for the Congressional districts in each of the states to become the Electoral College voting unit, plus two electors to be chosen at large in each state. In other words, the Congressional district was to be substituted for the state as the Electoral voting unit.[8]

An argument in favor was that voting for electors by Congressional districts would give more representation to the different sociopolitical interests within each state and, thus, within the nation, than the present

system affords. On the surface this plan would seem to have merit of a democratic nature. It gives geographic as well as population bases in voting for president.

An objection to the plan is that it favors the Congressional districts in each state and, thus, throughout the nation, with the smaller number of voters as over against the more populous districts. The smaller rural district in terms of population would have as large a voice as the larger urban district. Consequently, the plan would appear to favor the rural areas at the expense of the urban ones. It is also argued that in some states a redistricting might take place to increase the number of electors favoring the dominant political party in such states.

Electing by Total Popular Vote. A third proposal is to abolish the Electoral College and elect the president on the basis of the total popular vote of the nation. On the surface this plan would seem to be simple, feasible, and democratic.[9]

An objection to this procedure of leaving the election of a president to the total popular vote has been made to the effect that in the future, even more than now, the populous centers would control the election results. The rural areas throughout the nation with interests that are somewhat different from those of the big cities would be put at an increasingly serious disadvantage as time goes on and as the urban centers continue to grow in voting predominance. The geographic spread of interests, favored by the Congressional district plan for voting for president, would be virtually ignored. The population heaps of people would crush the interests of rural folk everywhere in a total popular vote for president.

It is also contended that, in very precinct throughout the nation where the voting for president was close, the results would be challenged on the flimsiest of excuses. The numberless challenges might be long drawn out and involve delayed judicial decisions. Errors in voting might be deliberately planned in precincts where the race was expected to be close so that the results could be challenged.

In support of the plan, Senator H. H. Lehman of New York pointed out that television, radio, the press, in other words, the universal functioning of rapid communication has made the United States into "one big community." Moreover, he might have added that the United States is likely to become more and more "one big community" by virtue not only of rapid and universal communication, but also because of the cutting down of immigration, the movement upward of the laboring classes into the so-called middle classes, the spreading nation-wise of both formal and informal means of education. In another sense, the

"one big community" is developing through the urbanization process that is slowly but surely absorbing rural area after rural area, first those adjoining the cities, and second those adjoining the urbanized rural areas.

Combination of Methods. A fourth proposal for electing a president of the United States, sometimes called the Daniel-Kefauver plan, would combine proposals one and two as already presented. It would combine the methods of choosing a president by proportional division and by Congressional districts. The first method would become the law except in those states that choose the Congressional district formula.

An argument in favor of this combination of methods is that it would give each state of the Union the right to choose the procedure that would seem to favor the political interests of that state the more. It would preserve an emphasis on states' rights. Practically speaking, it has been called the only method that might be expected to receive the necessary votes in Congress and of the states.

Negatively speaking, many states it is believed would be thrown into political turmoil in trying to decide which method it wanted. This double-barreled solution might seem cumbersome and yield considerable confusion. It has not aroused much enthusiasm and it has not stimulated more than casual discussion.

CONCLUSIONS

Certain tentative conclusions may now be stated as propositions that call for further research and analysis.

1. The Electoral College is a crude sociopolitical institution and satisfactory only in a general way.

2. The public is generally apathetic about the whole matter, except as some individuals recognize the faults in the institution and, without making a scientific study of it, propose changes in its operation, usually following a presidential election.

3. When the public is making no demand or showing no widespread interest, senators and representatives as a whole are not aroused to spend time and effort in securing an improvement or a change in its functioning.

4. No substitute or serious modification has been proposed during the 172 years of its history that meets with widespread approval.

5. There is a need that the president be asked (by the Congress) to appoint a joint committee of statesmen and social scientists to study thoroughly the operation of the Electoral College since its inception, the methods used by other democratic countries in electing their presidents, and to propose changes or a substitute procedure that will be as simple

as possible, as fairly representative as possible of all major interests
within the nation, and that will be democratic both in principle and in
operation.

FOOTNOTES

[1] *Scholastic*, 68:15, April 19, 1956.

[2] *Loc. cit.*

[3] *Congressional Digest*, 35:99ff., April 1956.

[4] Ruth C. Silva, "Reform of the Electoral System," *Review of Politics*, 14:394ff.

[5] G. H. Hallett, Jr., and W. R. Woodward, *National Municipal Review*, 39:149, March, 1950.

[6] *Ibid.*, 34:42, January, 1945.

[7] *Congressional Digest*, 35:109.

[8] B. Goldwater, "Reforms Are Needed in Electoral College," *Los Angeles Times*, November 20, 1960.

[9] *Scholastic*, 68:16.

PACIFIC SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

The Pacific Sociological Association held its 1961 meeting in Tucson, Arizona, on April 13, 14, and 15, with the University of Arizona serving as host.

University of Colorado. Professor Edward Rose has been named chairman of the Department for a three-year term. He is also director of the Institute of Behavioral Science. Professor Gordon H. Barker has been elected vice-president of the American Society of Criminology. He is also on the executive board of the Colorado Conference of Social Welfare. Associate professor Howard Higman is chairman of the World Affairs Conference. Associate professor Blaine E. Mercer continues as chairman of the general social science program for the College of Arts and Sciences. Assistant professor Judson B. Pearson is the newly appointed director of the Bureau of Sociological Research. Robert C. Hanson has joined the Department as assistant professor and research associate in the Institute of Behavioral Science. Assistant professor E. Merle Adams served as director of a work-study program for mental health internes during the summer of 1960. Margaret Altman has joined the faculty as associate professor with a joint appointment in the departments of biology, psychology, and sociology. Charles Gray, Jules Wanderer, Carol Copp, Curtiss E. Frank, Jr., and Gary G. Willoughby are part-time instructors.

George Pepperdine College. A special training program for probation, parole, and correctional work is being developed in conjunction with course offerings in the department of social science. Students from Pepperdine are now participating in trainee programs and internships in seven different organizations or institutions in connection with this program. It is hoped that a master's degree in this field may be offered within the next two years.

Lewis and Clark College. C. V. Gustafson, an assistant consultant to the Committee on History and Social Studies of the Portland High School Curriculum Study, has written a minority report of that study which appears in the December 3, 1960, issue of *School and Society.*

San Diego State College. The Department of Sociology has added two new faculty members, Nicos Mauratides, a Ph.D. candidate from the University of Minnesota, and William Bates, Ph.D. from Washington University. Orrin Klapp's book on American social types is to be published some time this fall. Frank Youn received a summer grant from San Diego State College Foundation to support the processing of

data from a study of community change in rural Mexico. Morris Daniels is continuing research on the nurse's role under NIMH sponsorship. The Sociology Department has initiated the first project on the college's new IBM 650—a study of the ecology of delinquency and a critique of certain ecological measures.

San Fernando Valley State College. Dr. Mhyra Minnis joined the staff in September, 1960, as assistant professor of sociology. She had previously been acting chairman of the Department of Sociology at the University of Idaho. James Rollins, instructor of sociology, has been awarded a Danforth Teacher Fellowship to complete his studies for the Ph.D. at the University of Oregon.

University of Southern California. Jon Simpson has been appointed assistant professor of sociology beginning in the fall of 1961. Simpson will teach criminology and juvenile delinquency. Negley K. Teeters will be visiting professor of sociology during the summer session, 1961. Maurice D. Van Arsdol has been elected secretary-treasurer of the Pacific Sociological Association. The Department has reactivated its population research laboratory, long under the direction of the late Erle Fiske Young. Georges Sabagh and Maurice D. Van Arsdol are in charge of the research activities now being carried out in the population research laboratory under grants from the Haynes Foundation, the National Science Foundation, and the University Research and Publication Fund. The third edition of *Juvenile Deliquency in Modern Society,* by Martin H. Neumeyer, was published in April, 1961. Edward C. McDonagh and Thomas E. Lasswell were section chairmen at the Conference on the Economics of Hospital Care in the 1960's. Thomas E. Lasswell has received an additional grant from the University Research and Publication Fund for the study of person perception and social status. Charles C. Crider and Marianne Schwartz are engaged in field research on the auditory and visual aspects of status perception, respectively. Hamid Zahedi is visiting instructor of sociology at Long Beach State College. Edward C. McDonagh will represent the University at the Du Pont Educator's Conference during the last two weeks of June.

Whittier College. Dr. Bruce M. Pringle will be visiting professor of sociology during the first summer session. Dr. Robert W. O'Brien returns from the University of Exeter in time for the second summer session to resume his regular duties as chairman of the Department. Professor Gerald Patton will lead his sixth summer study tour of Europe in 1961.

CORRECTION. In the article by James E. Conyers entitled "An Exploratory Study of Employers' Attitudes Toward Working Mothers" in the January issue of this Journal, page 148, a sentence which began, "A female gave a typical reply . . ." should have read, "A female gave an atypical reply . . ."

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL PROBLEMS AND WELFARE

MAN AGAINST AGING. By Robert S. de Ropp. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1960, pp. 310.

As a biochemist, the author discusses a number of questions relating to aging, such as the relation of hormones, foods, poisons to the life processes. He considers biochemically two of the major health problems of the human race, namely, cancer which affects all ages and heart ailments which especially concern the aging members of the race. The life span is considered to be an indefinite entity, varying greatly with conditions. However, Dr. Dublin, a statistician for the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, is quoted as suggesting 100 years as a feasible life span (under ideal conditions).

The aging process "appears to be the result of three processes, as follows: (1) the gradual accumulation of harmful substances and of injuries, (2) the gradual loss of vital materials, and (3) a slow physical change of body proteins." The data that make these processes clearer wait on further research. The practice of overeating is so widespread in the United States "as to constitute a national vice."

Two problems related to aging are those of maintaining health and of retaining usefulness. "The present idiotic system of retirement" encourages persons to become a burden on society while they are still capable of being useful and hence of being happy. A person past 65 should not be scrapped, but his usefulness should be saved and encouraged. "Compulsary retirement is a social abomination." The glorification "of idleness and social uselessness" insures that the aged will "regress instead of develop." Compulsary retirement furthers the procedure of turning persons beyond 65 into parasites, "a vast host of drones." A goal of life is quoted by the author as being not to add years to life, but "to add life to years." To live "a successful old age" is another way of describing a goal for the elderly members of society.

E.S.B.

HUSBANDS AND WIVES: The Dynamics of Married Living. By Robert O.
Blood, Jr., and Donald M. Wolfe. Glencoe, Ill.: The Fress Press, 1960,
pp. xxi+293.

This book is a report of a major research project on the modern
American family. It emphasizes the understanding of the dynamics of
marriage. The present volume is the first of several reports of research
conducted during the mid-1950's in urban and rural areas of Michigan
by University of Michigan faculty and graduate students. Another
volume tentatively titled *Friends and Relations* is forthcoming. The
authors describe their research as "more exploratory than definitive—
more hypothesis generating than hypothesis testing."

Essentially the book represents a "wife's eye view of marriage." It
reports the results of interviews with 909 married women—731 urban
and 178 rural. Forty-two graduate students are given credit for the
formulation of interview schedules, interviewing, coding the responses,
and analyzing the data under the direction of the authors.

The research design was unique in that representative samples of
urban and rural families were obtained. An excellent appendix discusses
"Research Methods and the Use of Empirical Evidence." The data
appear to be adequate except for such topics as sex adjustment, which
the authors admit few women discuss on their own initiative when
queried about problems in their marriages.

The main focus of the book is on functions—not the traditional or
historical, but the personal services that spouses perform for each other.
The main findings are reported in chapters on the following marital
functions: Economic, Reproductive, Companionship, Understanding and
Emotional Well Being, and Love. The Michigan women report compan-
ionship to be the chief end of marriage. Four types or aspects of com-
panionship were investigated. The chapter on Understanding and
Emotional Well Being represents a first step in seeking to determine
directly how spouses affect the mental and emotional health of each
other. Closely related are the data on Love. Americans marry because
they are in love—rather than to love. Love is a form of communication.
It is most commonly expressed among couples who do many things
together. It is suggested that people seek education to develop skills in
communication and self-expression. Thus college graduates should be
excellent lovers!

The other chapters on Power (decision making), Division of Labor
(roles), and the concluding chapter on Stresses and Strengths in
American Marriages generally reinforce the earlier research data on
which modern textbooks are based. It is reported in the concluding

chapter that happiness decreases throughout marriage. However, realistic expectations are continuously revised and deepened habituation makes possible reasonable satisfaction, which in turn contributes to permanence. The authors are optimists. They say that, compared with the gloomy prophecies about unhappiness and instability in characterizing modern marriages, actually "contemporary marriages sparkle . . . as most wives are satisfied with the love, understanding, and standard of living provided by their husbands." They (the authors) infer inability of lower-class families to deal effectively with their marital problems owing to lack of skills.

The main weakness of this report is the lack of description of the social characteristics of the sample. It is hoped that this will be remedied in the next edition.   WILLIAM E. HARTMAN
Long Beach State College

ESSENTIALS OF FAMILY LIVING. By Ruth M. Hoeflin. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1960, pp. 282.

Written as a textbook for beginning college courses in family living, this book includes problems of the entire family cycle. Consideration is first given to characteristics of emotional maturity, basic human needs, and components of a healthy personality. Then the family life cycle is discussed stage by stage, with special emphasis upon youths' preparation for the future. Each chapter includes good discussion questions, summary, and reference list.

Dr. Hoeflin has used a clear, interesting style incorporating case studies and direct conversations. Practically all problems of concern to youth are briefly dealt with. Primary consideration is given to self-understanding and emotional health, an important area often neglected in preparation for marriage books.

It seems questionable as to whether or not this book is suitable for a college textbook. The approach and depth of the topics probably make the book more appropriate for high school students. Today's college students are asking for assumptions to be verified by scientific research to a much greater extent than is done here. They also desire a more comprehensive handling of topics. Textbooks of this type are greatly needed on the high school level, and this book might help to fill that need. Or with plenty of supplementary sources it could serve as an introductory overview of problems of personal and family living in a college family relations course.   NONA H. CANNON
San Diego State College

THE AGING AMERICAN: An Introduction to Social Gerontology and Geri-
   atrics. By Milton L. Barron. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company,
   1961, pp. xvii+269.

Gerontology is defined broadly as "the systematic, multidisciplinary
study of the patterns and meanings of aging, and geriatrics as those
techniques that aim to control and reduce its problem aspects." Social
gerontology brings into the picture the belief "that most problems of
aging and the aged are problems in human relations: man-made and
therefore controllable."

Aging is viewed as varying with each individual and as not being
very closely "related to the number of years one has lived." Some
research studies indicate "that aging of the body is due to the expenditure
of 'adaptation energy,'" which is used up "by combats with illness" and
in other struggles.

An incongruous fact is pointed out, namely, "that while the life span
has been lengthened for millions of people, their working lives have
been shortened." The aged in the United States are discussed as "an
emerging quasi-minority group," that is, they are treated in various
underprivileged ways. They suffer, for example, from prejudices in
industry and elsewhere. They may be looked down on as "has beens."
Those persons with "the most pronounced 'quasi-minority' characteristics
also have the highest incidence of physical and mental morbidity."

Research studies seem to show that the problems of farmers in "old
age and retirement are less severe than those of the aged in other
occupations." It also appears that older persons are less arbitrary and
more individualistic than are younger persons "about the decision and
age of retirement." More research is needed, for gerontology still
expresses itself to a great extent in terms of "educated guesses." Longi-
tudinal studies in order to discover the generic relationships between
youth, middle age, and old age are urgently needed.

A philosophic aspect of gerontology "sees life at all stages as a
continuum in which one gives up some things and gains others," in
stage after stage. The need for the development of sound gerontological
theories is evident.

The concluding chapter of this book suggests three age periods of
older people: 65 to 70, 70 to 75, and 75 plus, but this proposal con-
tradicts the earlier suggestion that "years" are not a proper basis for
discussing the aging process. Comprehensiveness is a merit of this
textbook. Pioneering is another asset. However, by the nature of this
survey sketchiness in many places could hardly have been avoided.

                                                                    E.S.B.

WELFARE IN AMERICA. By Vaughn Davis Bornet. Norman: University
of Oklahoma Press, 1960, pp. 319.

Social welfare is broadly defined in this book as "special services
supplied and material assistance given by all or part of society to a
human being thought to be in need." The term encompasses not only
public aid and private charity, but also social service and voluntary
agencies which are neither public assistance nor charitable giving. And
there is that quasi-welfare thing known as social insurance. The author
gives some attention to public assistance programs financed by federal
and state governments, or by county and local governments, but he is
more concerned with the problems of private welfare organizations—
the voluntary nongovernmental part of social welfare.

During the first half of this century there has been a shift from
individual charity to voluntary organization, and the rise of govern-
mental supremacy in money expended for welfare. Since the early
Thirties, the national direction of welfare coverage has been from
cradle to the grave, government-guaranteed, social and economic security
financed by taxes. Government has become both collection agent and
benefit administrator. The trend has been to make the individual the
responsibility of some voluntary agency or some program of government,
but the voluntary agencies for welfare are greatly handicapped in
comparison with the governmental paternalistic agencies.

There is now a great multiplicity of voluntary social welfare organi-
zations, some of which have admirable records of impartial service, and
some of which have no doubt tended to become vested interests. Several
chapters are devoted to the problems of voluntary social welfare agencies
at national, state, or local level; the motivation of those who give and
the rationalizations of the nongivers; the effects of united fund raising;
how to finance voluntary welfare organizations and yet avoid the evils
of subordination to those who are masters of the financing. The author
comments regarding the "financial sickness" of all voluntary social
welfare, and regrets that donors have been losing the feeling of "charity"
owing to the impersonalization of united fund raising. It is evident that
voluntary welfare will continue to be hard pressed financially, so it
is suggested that the AFL-CIO and other organizations might help to
invigorate voluntary welfare. Voluntary health agencies are facing a
critical situation. The social workers' area, involving 152 occupations,
tends to become more professionalized; but as their welfare role becomes
more firmly established, the maintenance problems also tend to increase.

Economic and political aspects of governmental welfare programs need to be considered carefully so that further extensions or revisions will not jeopardize justifiable and essential voluntary welfare in our democracy. There must be a reasonable limit to "cradle to grave" welfare protection through government taxing and spending. This book is timely and is recommended as good reading for all Americans.   J.E.N.

INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL WELFARE. Second Edition. By Walter Friedlander. Inglewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1961, pp. xiii+589.

This second edition of a text introducing the field of social welfare reflects many developments and diversification in the field over the years. A first chapter presents the concepts of "social welfare," "social services," "social work," and "social security." It is interesting to note that the field of social work is considered a science and an art and is carried on in six different forms based upon "generic social work." Social work involves "six processes": (1) social casework, (2) social group work, (3) community organization, (4) social welfare administration, (5) social welfare research, and (6) social action. The first three "processes" are defined as three basic methods of social work and the other three are ancillary activities "necessary to establish, maintain, and operate social services." The author shows the growth and broadening of social welfare and its functions in our society. Further, he presents historic perspective, and main phases of social welfare organization with references to books and journals in the field.

Mr. Friedlander divides the text into the Historical Development of Social Welfare, Social Work Processes, and the Social Welfare Programs and Practice. Included in these sections are case histories which illustrate the different programs and social work processes in action. Three important trends discussed in the book are: (1) the process of social action, which aims at social progress and modification of social policies, (2) professionalization of social welfare concerned with standards of service and personal responsibility and accountability, and (3) developments in international welfare and crime, delinquency and correctional services. This text is important to professional social workers, students in the field, and the general lay person, who should be aware of the information and trends presented in its well-rounded presentation of the field of social welfare.   WOODROW W. SCOTT

George Pepperdine College

THE PACIFIERS. By Mark Hanan. Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1960, pp. 2+306.

With brilliant incisiveness, this author exposes America's "symbols" of its market-place civilization. These symbols reflect nearly every aspect of the daily lives of our people. All media communicate them, while the advertisers literally mirror them.

The "sex symbol" is chiefly revealed in the ascendancy of the American female over the male, who is more likely to be found on his knees after marriage than before, performing household chores. The "executive man" represents the "success symbol." He is the great doer, the high metabolic dynamo, who is so mobile in his go-getting that sometimes even his own company has difficulty keeping up with him. The current "symbols of security" betray a need for a neurotic certainty of reassurance. Everything must come to us like "one of Mother's box lunches: all preplanned and pre-packaged." In clinging to "symbols of sociability," we will fraternize with other people even though they bore us or abhor us. Individualism has become a drug on the market. Even such a dedicated individualist as the professional hobo must now stay put at one address throughout the year in order to receive his social security payments. The "Influential" creates our "symbols of sophistication." He moves others to share his enthusiasm and enjoyment. While obviously "living it up over the heads" of the masses, he must appear low down enough to meet their gaze, like owning a sports car which entitles its driver "to look down on other people from below."

Through our symbols, we are training ourselves to stop at the surface of things and leave the fundamental issues of our society untouched. The author fervently hopes to awaken in Americans the desire to refurbish and renew their symbols!   HELEN D. MCCREA

Los Angeles

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE: Twenty-First Congress Agenda and Reports. London: International Co-operative Alliance, 1960, pp. 153.

This document gives data concerning the development of the various kinds of cooperatives in each of the democratic countries of the world. Because of their self-help nature and private enterprise procedures they are not allowed to function freely in totalitarian countries. Two of the most significant addresses that are reported in this document were given by former vice-president, Dr. Mohammad Hatta of Indonesia, and Dr. M. Bonow of Sweden.

Dr. Hatta points out that colonialism left the people poor "in the midst of abundant wealth, with a great lack of skill and without any capital." Cooperatives are self-help organizations which "are indispensable in developing countries"; they are "the only way out of the miserable life," of which the rank and file are suddenly becoming aware. Consumer cooperatives have had a hard time, for as soon as they emerged, they were suppressed "by lowering prices, if necessary even below the market price" by the colonial-directed businesses.

Dr. Bonow discusses how the changes in the socioeconomic changes now taking place in the Western world are influencing consumer and other types of cooperation. He proposes a thoroughgoing program of cooperative activities. Greater integration between cooperative retailing, cooperative wholesaling, and cooperative production is called for as a means of promoting genuine democracy in economic realms. Widespread training is required today, both in the Western countries and in the new developing countries, in the principles of self-help cooperatives, and in the training of men and women qualified to direct and manage the business activities of such free enterprise organizations. As a result of this report of the nature and needs of cooperatives, it is seen that the cooperative movement is moving in the direction of "peace based on understanding" rather than as now on "a so-called balance of terror between a few great powers."   E.S.B.

REGIONAL PLANNING. Housing, Building and Planning Nos. 12 & 13. New York: United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 1959, pp. iv + 220.

A seminar on regional planning was organized by the United Nations in cooperation with UNESCO and the Government of Japan, and was held in Tokyo from July 28 to August 8, 1958. Participants from sixteen countries, three specialized agencies, and representatives from eleven nongovernmental organizations attended the seminar. In all there were ninety-eight participants and observers. The seminar considered the many complex interrelationships of economic, social, physical, and administrative aspects of planning and development, with special reference to the planning of three types of regions: (1) metropolitan regions that are experiencing problems of urbanization and industrialization; (2) regions of resource development, such as hydroelectric watersheds; (3) rural regions in which village improvement programs are being carried out.

Papers presented at the seminar by outstanding specialists from various

countries are grouped into three parts: I. Regional planning—demographic, social, economic, physical, and related aspects; II. Trends in regional planning; III. Case studies in regional planning. The twenty-three papers are of a high order, valuable for their theoretical and practical contributions to regional planning not only within nations but for the prospects of regional planning as an international frontier.

<div align="right">J.E.N.</div>

THE SOCIAL EPIDEMIOLOGY OF MENTAL DISORDERS. By E. Gartley Jaco. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960, pp. 228.

Alarming statements are constantly being made about the prevalence of mental disease and the increasing number of persons being afflicted with it. Nevertheless, the fact remains that we do not as yet know how many persons are mentally ill in the United States at present, let alone in the past. An important step forward in the development of methods to obtain such information is found in a study recently published by Jaco under the sponsorship of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Jaco attempted to obtain data on all residents of Texas who became psychotic for the first time during the years 1951 and 1952. Cases were located through private treatment facilities and practitioners as well as public institutions. Incidence rates were found to differ significantly with age, sex, and ethnicity (Anglo-American, Spanish-American, and nonwhite), so these factors were corrected for in the more detailed analyses. Other variables examined for their effect upon the percentage of the population developing mental disorders were ecological distribution, rural-urban residence, marital status, occupation, education, and diagnostic classification.

An evaluation of the study must take into account important strengths and serious limitations. Psychotic cases are severe enough that most of them probably come eventually to the attention of the medical profession, but there is still great uncertainty in diagnosing them and determining the time of onset. Studying residents of Texas means dealing with a heterogeneous and rather unique population, but one which is sizable, readily identifiable, and for which census figures are available.

On the basis of his findings, the author strongly advocates that mental health surveys should concentrate on incidence rather than prevalence rates, should include rural as well as urban groups, should separate figures for different ethnic groups, and should include cases from private as well as from public facilities.　　　　BRUCE M. PRINGLE

<div align="right">*Southern Methodist University*</div>

THE SOCIOLOGY OF SOCIAL PROBLEMS. Second Edition. By Paul B. Horton and Gerald R. Leslie. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960, pp. x+678.

Part I of this text presents a general orientation for the course that, among other things, emphasizes three approaches to the study of social problems: (1) the social-disorganization approach, (2) the personal-deviation approach, and (3) the conflict-of-values approach. These three approaches have been employed in examining the social problems in the United States that are dealt with in Part II, which is the major part of the book.

The problems studied concern vested interest and pressure groups, crime and delinquency, family problems, religious problems and conflicts, social class problems, race problems, problems of urban and rural communities, mass communication, personal pathologies, health and medical care, war and international organization, civil liberties and subversion.

The basic approach is similar to that of the first edition, but portions of the chapters have been rewritten and new material has been added on juvenile delinquency, problem families, and the personal pathologies. The text has been well written and organized, and it may appeal to those who want a "frame-of-reference" approach to the problems covered.

                                                                    J.E.N

THE SELF-CONSCIOUS SOCIETY. By Eric Larrabee. Garden City: Doubleday and Company, 1960, pp. 188.

The classes, culture, and history, and trends of life in the United States are briskly treated in this book of essays under such headings as: wreck of the status system, wild music in the hills, jazz and the shape of art, pornography is not enough, sophisticates abroad, after abundance what?

As members of a self-conscious society, Americans are "aware of every breath and gesture, but uncertain what they add up to." Americans assume that what "works for us will work elsewhere." They give the impression of continually taking their own pulse, and are "living not so much in a status system as in the wreckage of one, a storeroom full of broken monuments, for the process of exploiting status is self-destructive." The author's figures of speech and sharp generalizations are difficult to think about in terms of hypotheses that the social scientist might submit to the test of empirical experimentation.   E.S.B.

PEOPLES AND CULTURE

RACES OF MANKIND: Their Origin and Migration. By Calvin Kephart. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960, pp. 566.

A scholarly attempt has been made by the author to trace the origins and migrations of ancient tribes and races. He does not accept the following premises: (1) no relatively pure races can be named, (2) there has been no Turanian, or Aryan, or Negro, or Hebrew race or racial subdivision, but only bombastic claims of such, and (3) there are no superior or inferior races. Contemporary social scientists may be surprised to learn that Kephart claims that most of the "pure" Negroes in the United States lack sufficient ability to be graduated from secondary schools and that the Negroes who "gained" white blood provide practically all of the Negro students in American colleges. In this day it is alarming to read such statements without the obvious qualification that must be made. The preferences given to the light-pigmented Negro are a social fact of significance within both the Negro and the white subcultures. Perhaps we could conclude from his example and reasoning that urban dwellers are brighter than ruralites, that the rich are more alert than the poor, and that boys are more intelligent than girls by virtue of their greater attendance in colleges.

The book, in spite of its assertive preferences for some races, does provide a detailed account of the many subgroups of man. An interesting classification of these subgroups is defended with considerable common sense. A fourfold classification of racial subgroups emerges: (1) Pre-Dravidian, (2) Black (Indafrican), (3) Yellow-red (Turanian), and (4) Brown-white (Aryan). The book is strong in historical detail and rich in comparative references to cultural inventions. Its chief weakness is a failure to appreciate man's ability to learn what other men have invented.   E.C.M.

YAKIMA'S OLDER PEOPLE. A Brief Look at Their Older People. By Carol L. Stone. Pullman: Washington State University, 1960, pp. 25.

This booklet presents data concerning some of "the attitudes, desires, pastimes, and general situation of Yakima's older people." The majority of these persons do not drive a car, and lack of transportation is a problem for them. An active center for older people in Yakima is needed, according to two thirds of their number. No one activity would appeal to all of these 4,000 older persons in Yakima.   E.S.B.

A SCIENTIFIC THEORY OF CULTURE, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By
    Bronislaw Malinowski. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp.
    x+228.

Malinowski's essay, *A Scientific Theory of Culture*, is now regarded
as a classic in its field; and since anthropologists, sociologists, historians,
philosophers, and others are prolific in producing studies about culture,
it is fortunate that this essay, first published in 1944, is again available.
What the author suggests is a scientific approach to the study of culture,
primarily from the anthropological point of view, but it also has meaning
for sociology and other disciplines.

Science is defined for the humanist, and culture is defined in general
terms. Culture is then discussed with greater detail in several short
chapters which clarify its relation to organized behavior and to human
nature. These factors are seen to be interrelated in their functions. In
fact, the essay is noteworthy because of its emphasis on functional
analysis. Two other essays are reproduced here, one entitled *The Func-
tional Theory*, the other a critical assessment of the works and theories
of Sir James George Frazer.   J.E.N

SCANDINAVIAN STUDENTS ON AN AMERICAN CAMPUS. By
    William H. Sewell and Oluf M. Davidsen. Minneapolis: University of
    Minnesota Press, 1961, pp. ix+134.

In this discussion of "cross-cultural education," a study was made of
the experiences of forty Scandinavian students, both undergraduate and
graduate, at the University of Wisconsin. The interview method was
used, with an average of nine months between the first and last inter-
views. The interviewing was done by the junior author, who was a
graduate student from Denmark at the time. The transcriptions were
extensive, up to 235 double-spaced typed pages. A double coding system
was used.

A large amount of rich data was obtained and the findings while
tentative are highly important, first, because of what they show in the
way of interpersonal relations and, second, because of their value when
other studies of a comparative nature are made.

A major finding was that academic adjustment, social adjustment, and
attitudes toward American life apparently followed a similar cycle as
follows: first, favorable adjustment and attitudes, then a definitely less
favorable trend, and later, a more favorable adjustment and attitude
development. Each individual's background, type of personality, and the
nature of social and academic life in this country explain some aspects

of the major findings. Reactions were somewhat negative toward "the relatively rigid routine of the university system," but favorable toward "the informality of relations between students and teachers," and toward adjustments to campus and community life of the university. The students felt that "they had not had time and opportunities enough to associate with Americans." To them, "independent contemplation and genuine conviction were often lacking in American moral, religious, and political thinking and behavior." An "Interview Guide" is included. Comparable studies need to be made, perhaps on a more extensive scale, of students from various countries regarding their reactions to American university and college life. On the whole this is an excellent study in the field of international and "cross-cultural" relations   Q.D.L.

THE HISTORY OF MODERN CULTURE. By Maurice Parmelee. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960, pp. 1295.

The present treatise was conceived in 1907, and several books published by the author since then have contributed to it, so this sizable volume has been fifty years in the making. Culture as dealt with here includes everything made or changed by mankind, whether it be material or nonmaterial in nature.

In Part I, the origins and early evolution of social aspects of culture are traced in broad terms from primitive times onward, or from known historic origins of political forms of organization, imperialism, and of science and technology in the ancient world. Part II deals with the emergence of modern culture, including such topics as class mobility, feudalism, nationalism, imperialism, capitalism, collectivism, regionalism, sex regulations, and others. Part III deals with geographic and functional factors in the development of cultural elements in Oriental and Occidental zones, comparing religious, sexual, political, esthetic, economic, and ideological norms that characterize different regions of the world.

The approach taken throughout the work is that of a natural history that provides a long view or perspective for each subject. The author draws on anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, and other social sciences for his data. Every cultural category is seen to be dynamic, ever changing, ever functional in response to man's needs at the time. Societies differ much in their cultures whatever the time or place, yet all of them possess general characteristics or patterns which make it possible to demonstrate the emergence and development of significant aspects of culture. This book makes culture a living thing, something everyone should know more about.   J.E.N.

THE CARIBBEAN POPULATION AND RESOURCES. By Harold L.
   Geisert. Washington, D.C.: The George Washington University, 1960,
   pp. 48.

The area covered in this study includes Cuba, Dominican Republic,
Haiti, Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Trinidad, and Tabago. Population growth
in recent years, birth and death rates, age composition, occupational
distribution, relation of population to production, literacy and primary
school enrollment—these are some of the topics on which data are
furnished. Not much is being accomplished in terms of population
control. Male dominance, inferior status of women, widespread illegiti-
macy, consensual unions are prevalent. The people in general are not
aware of a population increase problem.

Political parties are "usually political machines especially created to
promote one individual," and opposition "is considered disloyal and is
ruthlessly eliminated." Long-range economic planning is greatly needed
but not feasible. Fertile fields for communist agitation are present. The
nature, functions, and individual responsibility for democratic procedures
in government are not appreciated to any great extent.   E.S.B.

FROM EMPIRE TO NATION. The Rise to Self-Assertion of Asian and
   African Peoples. By Rupert Emerson. Cambridge: Harvard University
   Press, 1960, pp. x+466.

This timely book interprets the dynamic changes in the interrelation-
ships of colonialism and imperialism during the first half of the present
century, and points out the most significant factors in the emergence of
national self-assertion and independence among the peoples of Asia and
Africa. General perspective is provided in the first part where the author
explains the era of the two World Wars, the real grounds for the
rejection of colonialism, and changes in colonial policy in response to
national movements. The second part presents what is well termed
"the anatomy of the nation," including such factors as the people, terri-
tory and state, their language, the nature of their culture in general and
more particularly their religious and economic institutions; and Western
and non-Western conceptions of nationalism are differentiated.

Nationalism and democracy are discussed further in Part Three
as ideological forces reciprocally related in colonial and noncolonial
countries. The self-determination of colonies and nations became a
leading principle after World War I, and its importance in world trends
is viewed functionally in Part Four. The concluding section deals with
traditionalism and communism, the virtues of nationalism, and the
emergence of new nations as members of the international community.

The author realizes that the imperialist nations considered possess both similarities and differences, and the same is true of the colonies and of the new nations emerging in Asia and Africa, but certain principles and theories developed by the author give unity and coherence to the study as a whole. Evidently the imperialism which has shaped the colonial phase has also brought about the transition to national autonomy, and colonialism itself has in some measure served as a school for democracy. It remains to be seen to what extent nationalism and democracy will work together in contemporary history. The insight provided here concerning the challenges of national self-assertion and independence in the rapidly changing world order will prove useful for students of political science, international relations, and political sociology.

<div align="right">J·E·N</div>

METHODISM'S CHALLENGE IN RACE RELATIONS: A Study of Strategy. By J. Philip Wogaman. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. vi+76.

Based on the author's Ph.D. dissertation, this study is a synthesis of the insights of the social sciences and the norms of Christian social ethics regarding race relations. It surveys the historical background of race segregation and desegregation; the goal and ethical presuppositions of strategy in bringing about an inclusive church; the relevant findings of social sciences that may be used in formulating the principles of strategy for desegregation; and the roles of the minister and the local church, the episcopacy and the annual conference, and the general conference in bringing about a desegregated church. This account of how the Methodist Church has attempted to meet the challenge of improved race relations is basically an analysis of an effective strategy for racial desegregation.   M.H·N.

STUDY ABROAD. By Irwin Abrams. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960, pp. 21.

For American students to study abroad is being considered legitimate for increasing numbers of them. Four different programs for study abroad are developing: an organized year of study abroad, a semester or term abroad, a summer session abroad, and a study tour. The effectiveness of such study varies considerably. Some of the problems and the potentials of this new form of higher education are briefly discussed in this document.   E.S.B.

THE NATURE OF JUDAISM. By Samuel Umen. New York: Philo-
    sophical Library, 1961, pp. 152.

Rabbi Umen presents an analysis of numerous Jewish experiences of
worship. He also cites some leading Jewish ideals that are propounded
by the prophets. The materials are arranged in fifty short chapters, which
are almost independent of one another with each chapter having its
own distinct subject matter. The author describes the ethical aspects of
Judaism in a variety of ways and with special observations. It seems to
the reviewer that the author has a good insight into the problems treated
in the book, but that the thoughts are based on generalizations rather
than on factual material. This book will make pleasant reading for
people whose knowledge of Judaism is meager.

<div style="text-align: right">

DAV BIN-NUN
Hebrew Union College

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SOCIAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

SOCIAL STATUS AND LEADERSHIP: The Case of the School Executive.
    By Melvin Seeman. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1960,
    pp. xi+156.

The many complexities involved in the study of various aspects of
leadership phenomena offer challenging opportunities for intrigued
investigators. In the present instance, the author confronted with the
dilemma posed by two types of research in the field called the "macro-
scopic" and the "molecular" has attempted to fuse these. The former
has concerned itself with a historical and cultural perspective, the latter
with a rigid discipline dealing with smaller or limited situations. Choos-
ing twenty-six communities, whose school authorities agreed to have
their systems studied, three units of leadership were selected: the school
superintendent as leader of the total staff, the secondary school principal
as leader of his staff, and the elementary school principal as leader of
his staff. Members of the various staffs were given a "forced-choice"
instrument consisting of ten items centered about the respondents' views
of the "ideal school leader," and phrased in such manner as the following
may suggest: "Do you think an ideal leader should generally (a) fit
his ideas into a group discussion in about the same way as other members
of the group or (b) tell the group at the outset what his ideas on the
subject are?" Each pair of the ten items gave a leader-centered and a
member-centered alternative.

The general results of the estimations by both leaders and followers revealed certain significant trends such as: "the leaders adopt a view of the leadership role that is relatively less directive than the subordinates' view"; and, "the 'highs' in status attitude hold a more strongly leader-centered ideology." Such problems as leadership isolation and alienation, role conflict, and ambivalence emerged in the study, but Seeman holds that, in relation to empirical studies on leadership, these phenomena need much more light thrown upon them. The same type of research design might well be applied to a study of leadership wherein the group followers have had some choice in the selection of their own leader. In the study, the followers are captive, probably having had little or no choice in the selection of the leaders undoubtedly imposed upon them. What differences this may have had in their answers is an important consideration for estimating the final validity of the findings.   M.J.V.

FIELD WORK. An Introduction to the Social Sciences. By Buford H. Junker. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960, pp. xvii+209.

Field Work is a primer of procedure for field research in sociology, psychology, anthropology, and contemporary history. "Field work," in this volume, refers to what many other writers have called primary research. In the words of the author, it is the task of "observing and recording and reporting the behavior of living people in contemporary situations, in any direct way. . . ." The aim of this manual is to instruct the uninitiated on how to achieve the most useful and accurate results from personal observation and interviewing. Junker often states or illustrates the recommended procedures in the original words of noted social scientists such as William Foote Whyte, Bronislaw Malinowski, and James H. S. Bossard.

One of the outstanding features of this book is its impressive bibliography of field techniques and instructions; it is partly annotated and cleverly and helpfully indexed.

In the opinion of this reviewer, *Field Work* will prove to be one of the most immediately useful books of its kind. The beginning field researcher will take comfort and reassurance from its explicit directions and well-chosen examples; the teacher will be pleased to have a reference book that contains so many satisfying answers to the perennial questions born of anxiety about early field experience.   T.E.L.

THERESIENSTADT 1941-1945. Das Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft. By
    H. G. Adler. Tuebingen, Germany: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1960,
    pp. lix+892.

The reviewer feels inadequate to write an "objective" abstract or
review about this gigantic work, and for two reasons: first, many an
individual, having escaped from the holocaust of Hitler and having lost
his family in Theresienstadt or some other concentration camp, as has
this reviewer, cannot remain emotionally detached: it seems as though
old scars open their festering wounds, closed for two or more decades.
Second, the amount of scholarship packed in this book is such that several
thousands of words would not do justice to describe the content or to
exercise critical judgment if such were needed. But it is not needed.

The book is divided into three parts, entitled: "History," "Sociology,"
and "Psychology." The first, and shortest, part on the History is de-
signed to give the reader a background as to this concentration camp—
its structure, organization, deportations, the "technique" of deportations
to Theresienstadt, and the like. The second part, Sociology, deals with
administration, transportation (or deportation), population, housing,
maintenance, work, economy, legal situations (*Rechtsverhaeltnisse*),
health, welfare, cultural and social *Verkehr mit der Umwelt* (link with
the environment). For instance, the inside cover of the book shows a
diagram of the concentration camp, bloc by bloc and house by house,
including a "city park" and printed directions to the *Krematorium* (gas
ovens). The third part is mirrored in the subtitle of the book: *Das
Antlitz einer Zwangsgemeinschaft* (the face of a community by compul-
sion). The author, through numerous sources, attempts to delineate
between an imaginary and an existing reality, the typology of the in-
dividual and the group, the "practical psychology of the camp," and by
showing how personalities were changed, how people, driven into
extreme anxieties, attempted to "escape from the presence," how social
ties were both strengthened and loosened, depending on the conditions
and the ever-changing situations, and how *Nichtzuschauen und Nicht-
mitwirken* (hiding the face and standing aside from the others) inter-
acted with overactivity and increased "ego strength."

This book represents the first, and probably only comprehensive,
Zeitdokument about a purely Jewish concentration camp of the "SS,"
tracing the *soziale Aufbau* (sociological reconstruction) in great detail,
and attempting to be *sachgerecht* (true to facts) without failing to admit
that such a gigantic work could not be *fehlerfrei* (free from errors).

The Preface lists dozens of scientists to whom the author was indebted
(including Leo Baeck, Alfred Werner, Eva G. Reichmann) and who,
in turn, have contributed to the history and the sociology of the Nazi
era. Of special interest for both the German and the non-German reader
is a special glossary of thirty pages which precedes the main part of the
book. The bibliographical references require over one hundred pages.
This book, therefore, is a gold mine for scholars, but can be, yes should
be, read by everyone interested in one of the most terrifying periods of
mankind.   HANS A. ILLING

MEDIEVAL THOUGHT: From St. Augustine to Ockham. By Gordon A.
    Leff. Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1959, pp. 316.

Beginning with an enlightening introduction regarding the sources
of medieval thought (Platonism, Neo-Platonism, Aristotelianism), this
historical account of the thinkers who attempted to create a Christian
philosophy embracing the reconciliation of faith and reason is most
clearly and interestingly related. As the author states, the "greatest
problem that Christian thinkers had to face was the antimony between
their own body of doctrine and the philosophical concepts drawn from
pagan outlooks." The range of thought from Augustine and Boethius
to William of Ockham includes that of such writers as Scotus Erigena,
Gerbert of Aurillac, St. Anselm, Abelard, and St. Thomas Aquinas. All
of this is well reported and placed in a perspective that results in an
excellent picture of the struggle to formulate or define the two realms
of theology and philosophy. What some of the medieval thinkers were
attempting—to transform theology into a science with its own laws and
methodology—strikes a kind of modern note. The final chapter, entitled,
"The Fourteenth Century: Scepticism versus Authority," and inci-
dentally, the most original, analyzes the times and writings of Duns
Scotus and William of Ockham. Duns, who struck a damaging blow
at Scholasticism, and at Thomism in particular, through a desire to
withdraw theology from the grip of pagan philosophy, concludes that
faith, not reason, can alone describe God. Ockham, who denied "that
there could be any valid inference beyond that provided by experience,"
ushered in the last act of medieval thinking, and turned from "qualita-
tive distinctions to quantitative," and "at the level of natural causation
denied nothing but what was undemonstrable." Dr. Leff is a lecturer
in Medieval History at Manchester University, and his understanding
of the medieval period is finely communicated.   M.J.V.

THE BIRTH OF THE GODS. The Origin of Primitive Beliefs. By Guy E.
    Swanson. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1960, pp. xii+
    260.

The author claims that currently accepted theories of primitive re-
ligion are of doubtful value because they cannot be scientifically tested.
He presents here his own theory, derived from an analysis of the re-
ligions of fifty primitive peoples. In a study of religion, it is necessary
to distinguish between two environments, one natural and the other
supernatural, and the structure of both varies greatly in human experi-
ence, and both of them confront us with innumerable mysteries. Since
it may be assumed that all ideas arise from man's experience within his
surroundings, the basic problem for scientific research was to ascertain
from what experiences the ideas of the supernatural and its myriad
forms arise. Cultures are social products, and represent the differing
modes of life of societies. Differences in cultural elements, including
those of religion, are dependent upon their particular social and cultural
contexts. The author explains at length the method devised to analyze
the experiences of fifty cultures within which fundamental religious ideas
might originate.

The ideas emphasized in this study include: the conceptions of a
monotheistic deity, polytheistic gods, ancestral spirits, reincarnation, the
immanence of the soul, the prevalence of witchcraft, and the notion of
gods who concern themselves with human moral problems. Concerning
these criteria, generalizations have been formulated according to the
weighting of experiences reported by the peoples in the sample. To cite
examples of the author's findings: (1) monotheism is characteristic of
complex societies in which the individual is subject to a hierarchy of
authority; (2) belief in reincarnation is most likely to appear in isolated
or small communities with simple social structures; (3) black magic
seems to be practiced widely when government control is weak; and
(4) a considerable proportion of the simpler peoples do make a con-
nection between supernatural sanctions and moral behavior.

Generalizations of this kind are representative of relationships be-
tween religious ideas and certain typical experiences reported as per-
taining to some peoples studied, yet these generalizations are not repre-
sentative of other peoples in the sample, and if the sample was increased,
the discrepancy would become increasingly obvious. The study is an
example of scientific research concerning elementary religious behavior
or thought, using mathematical groupings of data to arrive at conclusions.
These correlations between data may appear to give more precision to
cultural interrelationships in an effort to trace the origins of certain

primitive beliefs, yet too much remains intangible for the findings to constitute a theory of religion, whether primitive or more developed. The findings do demonstrate that religious elements, like other cultural traits or patterns, are socially produced and that their nature depends upon their immediate social and cultural context. J.E.N

CLASSICS IN WESTERN CIVILIZATION: A Course of Selected Reading by Authorities. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960, pp.xxvii+ 338.
CLASSICS IN SOCIOLOGY: A Course of Selected Reading by Authorities. New York: Philosophical Library, Inc., 1960, pp. xxiii+326.

These two volumes, one with readings devoted to political philosophy and sociocultural phenomena in the evolution of societies, and the other with readings about sociological phenomena, are well formulated for those who desire to receive a kind of historical view of what some well-known men have written in the aforementioned fields. The first, dealing with Western civilization, treats its subject matter under four headings: What is Western Civilization? The Making of Modern Europe, The Growth of Political Freedom, and The Challenge of Western Civilization. Selections have been made from writers representing both the past and the present. The past is represented by Savonarola, Erasmus, John Knox, John Locke, and John Stuart Mill, the present by Toynbee, Spengler, Whitehead, Lord Beveridge, Canham, and Lloyd George. For the introduction, Professor Somervell has written an introductory reading guide pointing out some milestones in the development of Western civilization which stand as signs of progress and are well marked in the readings.

The volume dealing with sociology dwells on four aspects of social phenomena: The Origin of Society, Consolidation and Development, Social Progress, and Modern Problems. Few of the writers represented in this volume have been or are sociologists save Morris Ginsberg, Malinowski, Werner Stark, and Westermarck, who have been concerned with specific phases of social events. The others, aside from Plato and Rousseau, are Darwin, Galton, Bertrand Russell, George Bernard Shaw, Winston Churchill, T. H. Huxley and his grandson, Aldous. Despite the fact that no American sociologist has been awarded a place, the volume bearing the stamp of British selective evaluation offers some more or less classic utterances on social origins and social progress. Nearly all of them are worthy of rereading by those who may have missed them before. The reading guide for this was written by Donald Macrae, a reader in sociology in the University of London. M.J.V.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF SOCIAL SCIENCE. By Radhakamal Mukerjee.
London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1960, pp. ix+187.

This treatise has so many facets that it is not possible to consider
more than a few of them in this review. The philosophy of social science
is described as being concerned with "the analysis, description, and
clarifications of the existing social sciences." It includes the essence of
"a general or integrated theory of social phenomena." It is continuous
with the philosophy of science and does not accept "the dichotomy be-
tween science and humanities." It is interested in discovering the unity
of all knowledge, for all knowledge is man made and relates in one
way or another to man in society and to his destiny.

Mukerjee's philosophy of science involves a conceptual triad of man-
communication-social situation, or person-value-institution. It deals not
only with systems of social thought, but "provides the norm and direction
of rational social action amidst the present confusion and conflict of
values in contemporary civilization." Among the important chapter
titles are these: the unity of social science, the nature of social reality,
the logic of social science, scientific methods in valuation, values and
optima in social planning, and world picture and world community.

As in his earlier works, Mukerjee places a great deal of emphasis on
values in human society. He states that the chief function of the social
sciences is to study the changing system of human values and the various
levels of values. The author, however, does not attempt to make a
concrete and extended analysis of these values, although certain broad
categories of them are indicated.

A distinction is drawn between intrinsic values and operational values.
Empirical verification of the latter is feasible, and "social distance and
social mobility can be verified in every social situation." The author
predicts the "final supremacy of the intrinsic over the operational (or
instrumental) values and of an ideal morality grounded in the instru-
mental values." A good word is expressed in favor of "social index
values based on empirical observations of social processes at different
dimensions and levels of behavior."

The author finds totalitarianism not only in communist countries but
to a marked degree "in all highly advanced technological countries," for
here the material and instrumental values tend to be supreme. Totali-
tarianism becomes entrenched where there is a chaos of values, an
abandonment of moral responsibility, and collective frustration. As
human relations become more impersonal, the moral element becomes
attenuated. The needed world community cannot be achieved now
"because of the unprecedented disparity of wealth, power, and efficiency

among the nations." As in earlier works Mukerjee presents a strong
case for the study of human values in the light of a world order and a
cosmic universe. The scope of his social thought pulls him out far
beyond the current empirical studies being made in the social sciences,
and beyond the thinking of the average social scientist, out where
scientific methods have not yet provided adequate methods of testing
and experimenting.   E.S.B.

A STUDY OF MURDER. By Stuart Palmer. New York: Thomas Y.
    Crowell Company, 1960, pp. ix+239.

Anyone interested in the "why" of murder? If so, Professor Palmer
has undertaken an interesting kind of investigation, probing rather keenly
into the lives of fifty-one murderers, and using a control group of the
same number for comparison. The control group was composed of the
nearest-in-age brother of each murderer. The study was confined to the
new England area and was pursued from 1956 to 1959. Two sections
of the book were contributed by two of the murderers, one of whom is
serving a life sentence, while the other served twenty years of a life
sentence, being conditionally pardoned in 1958. One of the objectives
of the study: "finding out whether there was a connection between
severe frustration experienced in infancy and childhood and murder
committed in adolescence or adulthood." Some of the facts disclosed:
only a small number of the murders had been planned; shooting, beating,
clubbing, and knifing were the main methods; the sexes were about
evenly divided; the mean age of the murderers was twenty-three;
thirty-four were Roman Catholics, twelve were Protestants, and one
was Jewish; none had attended college, three had graduated from high
school, while seventeen had had but from one to seven years of school-
ing; the occupations of the fathers tended to be ranked as of low
prestige; only a third had been married; and most of them had led
dismal and frustrating lives before committing crimes. Of this last,
the author holds that the "process of frustration begetting frustration
seems to be an especially dominant theme in the development of murder-
ers . . . and can even grow to the point where the individual seeks
frustration." The book's appendices consist of tables revealing scores
on a variety of subjects pertinent to the lives investigated, of indices
showing psychological frustration, acceptable aggression, and unaccept-
able aggression, and a final account of life in a prison cell, entitled
"The Cage" by Galvin, one of the "lifers." The four personal inter-
views with four murderers are dramatically sketched by Dr. Palmer.
Some thoughtful suggestions on rehabilitation are offered.   M·J.V.

EUROPEAN SOCIALISM. A History of Ideas and Movements. Two
volumes. By Carl Landauer. Berkeley: University of California Press,
1959, pp. 1894.

This profound analysis of European socialism presents a history of
ideas and movements from the Industrial Revolution to Hitler's seizure
of power. The first volume covers the period from the Industrial Revolu-
tion to the First World War and its aftermath, and the second volume
deals with the socialist struggle against capitalism and totalitarianism.

Modern socialism is considered first in its period of infancy (1790-
1850) with particular attention to Marxian theory, which is funda-
mental throughout the study as successive periods or phases are surveyed.
The period of adolescence (1850-1870) applies to socialism in France
and Germany, and the period of repression (1870-1890) also concerns
these two countries. The growth of the socialist movement in Western
Europe and the rise of reformism are traced from 1890 to 1914, as
experienced in Germany, France, Italy, Russia, Scandinavian countries,
and Belgium. The influence of socialism during the First World War
(1914-1918) is evaluated for the European countries most directly
concerned. European socialism and communism during the postwar
crises (1919-1924) are surveyed in terms of the Russian Civil War, the
role of the Internationals, the Weimar Republic, the rise of fascism in
Italy, and German socialism in the inflation period. So much for the
scope of the first volume.

The second volume (The Socialist Struggle Against Capitalism and
Totalitarianism) interprets the struggle for leadership of Soviet com-
munism, European socialism and its opponents on the eve of the Great
Depression, and the impact of the depression (1930-1932) on the
Weimar Republic and in France. That an epoch in history was ended
and that a new one was beginning were revealed by the U.S.S.R. and
its initiation of national planning, and by Hitler's victory in Germany
and the rise of national socialism. The work closes with a consideration
of socialist theory in the twentieth century, noting the influence of
neo-Marxism.

This treatise not only is comprehensive in its topical sequences for the
historical periods of development of socialist ideas and movements, but
is also comprehensive and thorough in its interpretation and appraisal
of fundamental concepts, tenets, and doctrines, which characteristically
are explained according to the changing cultural context from 1790
onward. Just as Lenin, for example, realized the importance of inter-
preting Marxism in terms of the imperialistic trends of his day, Landauer
does not limit his interpretations of Marxism theory and other socialist

doctrines to those which have become traditional, but gives new insight, new meaning to them as if they were to function in the advanced technologies of modern European countries. Thus socialist ideas and movements appear to be revitalized for present-day readers.

The author, we are to understand, is a reformist socialist, not a revolutionary. His interest is based on his belief in the desirability and possibility of peaceful change in which socialist values may provide motivation and direction. The author's grasp of the theoretical and historical elements of this study is indeed extraordinary. His penetrating insight and his fusion of data from a higher vantage point, as it were, have thrown new light on ideologies and events that have tended to become rather stereotyped by would-be analysts. This monumental work sets a standard which may well make it definitive for some years to come. Even so, when one considers not only the theoretical but the practicable questions regarding socialist ideas and movements, it remains essential to realize that utopian and unscientific aspects of socialism persist.   J.E.N.

SOCIAL SYSTEMS: Essays on Their Persistence and Change. By Charles P. Loomis. Princeton: D. Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960, pp. xi+349.

With the publication of this book, arrives Professor Loomis' conceptual scheme of the "Processually Articulated Structural Model" for structuring and assessing the elements and conditions of social systems. The Model consists of three headings—processes, structural-functioning categories, and elements, under which are found nine elemental processes described as congnitive mapping and validation, tension management and communication of sentiment, goal attaining activity and concomitant "latent" activity as processes, evaluation, status-role performance, evaluation of actors and allocation of status-roles, decision making and initiation of action, application of sanctions, and utilization of facilities. Six comprehensive or master processes are listed as communication, boundary maintenance, systemic linkage, institutionalization, socialization, and social control. Social actions are conditioned by territoriality, size, and time. Within this master pattern of the PAS, Loomis attempts to fit the systemic aspects of work teams, communities, societies, society under stress, religions, education, and health maintenance. For this, he uses structural-functional categories—knowing, feeling, achieving, norming, dividing functions, ranking, controlling, sanctioning, and facilitating. Paired with these categories are the elements—belief, sentiment, goal, norm, status-role, rank, power, sanction, and facility.

The Model has been sculptured by the suggestions of the work and writings of Becker, Davis, Homans, MacIver, Merton, Parsons, Sorokin, and Robin Williams, Jr. Tonnies' Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft theory permeates much of the analyses found in the seven essays. As one looks at the Model for comprehending the working of social systems, it appears heavy laden. The application of it to the systemic aspects analyzed seems at times forced and made to work. Nevertheless, it does serve at best as yielding satisfactory descriptive material relating to the fields selected. Loomis holds that sociology has for its core, interaction, and this interaction "tends to develop certain uniformities over time, some of which tend to persist." From this, the definition of social systems emerges as "orderly and systematic uniformities of interaction" and further, "the social system is composed of the patterned interaction of members." And further still, "a means of delineating a social system is furnished by the more intense and frequent occurrence of *specific types* of interaction among members than among non-members within a situation having both physical and symbolic aspects." Although the title of the book appears as *Social Systems*, Loomis sometimes uses the expression *The Social System*, which makes for some nonclarity unless he conceives of an over-all social system. The real test for the Model will lie in attempts by others to apply it to other social situations, although it is rather complex and complicated.   M.J.V.

L'INVESTIGATION SCIENTIFIQUE DES FAITS D'ACTIVITE HU-MAINE. Two volumes. By Georges Hostelet. Paris: Librairie Marcel Riviere et Cie, 1960, pp. 552.

M. Hostelet has provided a work of fairly massive proportions. His lengthy plea for the application of science to social phenomena is divided into two parts: the theoretical and the practical. Some fifty chapters range over topics varying from Christian Science to Taylorism to Communist infiltration in underdeveloped areas. This wide scope is not inappropriate as the author, now in his eighties, has enjoyed a rich background as economist, as adviser on colonial problems, and as director of the Solvay Institute. He incidentally demonstrates a respectable knowledge of the physical sciences.

Although the book does not represent a tight theoretical structure (in which it differs from the Durkheimian model, to which Hostelet owes so much), it provides an attempt to apply the experimental method to "social facts." Literally there are three methods: intuitive-empirical, analytic experimental, and conditional analytic experimental, the last being the method applied to the behavioral sciences.

The book is impressive for its erudition, yet it is questionable whether a new perspective is given to the social sciences. The work remains essentially philosophical or, more exactly, Aristotelian in its passion for classification, so frequently in the nature of a triad. There is little or no documentation and there is no name index, although a number of thinkers are mentioned. Refreshingly, though, there is a subject index. Despite the drawbacks, the reader will find a theoretical framework in which to conceptualize some aspects of the natural and social sciences and their limits.   ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON
                                         National University of Colombia

THE EFFECTS OF MASS COMMUNICATION. An Analysis of Research on the Effectiveness and Limitations of Mass Media in Influencing the Opinions, Values, and Behavior of Their Audiences. By Joseph T. Klapper. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, ix+302.

It is quite generally believed that such media of mass communication as television, radio, comic books, and newspapers have a profound impact on the minds and behavior of young and old. The publications on the subject range from impressionistic appraisals to reports of disciplined social research. The author investigated over 1,000 studies, essays, and reports, of which 270 were used directly in the volume and cited in the bibliography.

Five tentative generalizations were used to account for and appraise existing research findings. 1. Mass communication ordinarily does not function as a sole agent in the process of effect, but rather works amid a nexus of various mediating factors and influences. 2. These forces normally render mass communication a contributory agent, rather than a sole cause, in the service of reinforcement. 3. When mass communication serves as an agent of change, one of two conditions is likely to exist, namely, the mediating factors are inoperative and the effect of the media is direct or, the mediating forces favor change. 4. In certain residual situations mass communication seems to produce direct effects. 5. The efficacy of mass communication, either as a contributory agent or as an agent of direct effect, is affected by various aspects of the communication media themselves or of the communication situation. In analyzing the literature on various media, the author first describes the material under discussion, then notes some of the effects which certain writers believe a particular kind of mass communication produces, which is followed by a more detailed analysis of the findings of disciplined research regarding the actual nature of the material and what it apparently does to or for the audience.

The descriptions, analyses, and conclusions are too detailed to present in this review. The effects of persuasive communication are analyzed, including data pertaining to reinforcement and minor changes, the creation of opinion on new issues, the conversion process, and the contributory aspects of communication. The sections on the effects of specific types of media material are among the most valuable portions of the book. Here are noted the effects of crime and violence in the media, the effects of escapist media material, the effect of adult television fare on child audiences, and media attendance and audience passivity. The scientific studies indicate that the media studied seldom operate directly and alone. Their effects are influenced and mitigated by previous attitudes, as well as by personality factors in conjunction with the social situation. Basic attitudes and opinions are not the subject of ready manipulation, as some have feared, but they may be fairly powerful in reinforcing them and, under certain circumstances, in creating new opinions. Much more research is needed toward discovering media effects on particular types of persons who are especially susceptible to some kinds of media fare and to ascertain the differential effects on various types of people. In summarizing and evaluating the research on the effects of the major mass communication media, the author provides a concise summation of what is known and what is yet to be learned.   M.H.N.

RELIGION IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURE. A Study of Religion Through Social Science. By Purnell Handy Benson. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1960, pp. xi+839.

The first part of this text distinguishes between the supernatural which exists outside of human experience and that which properly comes within the domain of science. The author then goes on to discuss the nature of scientific study, and to develop an approach for his scientific study of religion. Thus 115 pages of material are introductory to the study of religion in contemporary culture. Part II states what religion is, and examples are given of religion representative of Catholics, Protestants, North American Indians, and some word about the sources of religious knowledge—all this with reference to religion in America. Part III deals with the functioning of religion; Part IV, with causation of religion; and Part V, with religion and society. This last section is concerned with the organization of religious movements, patterns of worship, religious education, church government, and the relations of religion to the political order, the economic order, social class and caste, and family life.

The data for this volume come primarily from anthropological, sociological, psychological, and philosophical sources. Many of the so-called authorities on religion are cited, and the author makes it a point to comment critically and at some length about most of these citations, so that in a sense they become digressions from the principal developmental theme. The author's chief concern appears to have been to demonstrate and justify his conception of a "scientific" study of religion. The analysis of religion becomes so complex and involved that the reader may find it necessary to reconstruct for himself a positive conception of what religion is in contemporary culture. The book is informative and interesting, yet it is a composite of several approaches to religion rather than a delineation of one in particular. Even if the method of selecting and analyzing data is scientific, it remains true that the social sciences drawn upon differ in their own methods and in what respects they are scientific. There is need for a good sociology of religion per se, and this text meets the need part way depending on one's selection of subject matter. A study of religion in contemporary culture need not be limited to sociology, of course, and the author's conception of "social science" is not restricted to sociology.   J.E.N.

EMILE DURKHEIM, 1858-1917. A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography. Edited by Kurt H. Wolfe. Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1961, pp. xiv+463.

A total of thirteen essays contributed by twelve different authors analyzes Durkheim's sociology, and the significance of his life and works to his time and place. Some of the topics of the essays are: Durkheim: The Man, His Time, and His Intellectual Background (Peyre); The Development of Durkheim's Concept of Ritual and the Problem of Social Relationships (Duncan); Durkheim's Contribution to the Theory of Integration of Social Systems (Parsons); Durkheim and Functionalism (Pierce); Durkheim's Conservatism and Its Implications for His Sociological Theory (Coser); The Influence of Durkheim and His School on the Study of Religion (Honigheim); Durkheim in American Sociology (Hinkle). Some of the thirteen essays may be grouped together because of related subject matter; some differences in viewpoints and estimates of Durkheim are to be found; some use Durkheim's ideas as a point of departure for presenting ideas of their own; some of the sociologists who were related in one way or another to Durkheim receive recognition, for example, Mauss, Halbwachs, Bougle. The total result is a very stimulating introduction to and evaluation of Durkheim's sociology.

The new translations of Durkheim's works include discussions of the scientific field of sociology, the relation of pragmatism to sociology, the social conditions of the dualism of human nature, and introductory statements regarding the founding of *L'Annee sociologique.* Durkheim raises objections to Simmel's attempts to delimit the field of sociology "to a particular system of sociology." Durkheim contended that for sociology to exist there must be in every society phenomena which appear "only because this society is constituted the way it is." He also argued that "social phenomena do not have their immediate and determining cause in the nature of individuals." Collective ideas and actions by their nature are different from those ideas and actions "that have their origin in the individual consciousness and must be subject to laws of their own."

Enough has been reported in this review to indicate the unique importance of this book. A valuable bibliography of Durkheim's writings is added, together with a photograph of Durkheim. If he were alive today, he would doubtless modify the statement made before his death in 1917 to the effect that France not only deserves the credit for establishing and developing sociology but that "it nevertheless remains an essentially French science."   E.S.B.

INTRODUCTION TO MASS COMMUNICATIONS. By Edwin Emery, Phillip H. Ault, and Warren K. Agee. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1960, pp. xix+435.

As stated by the authors, "this book is designed to give the reader a full description of the mass communication industries, to introduce him to all the areas of professional work in journalism and mass communications, and to illustrate for him the importance of the communicator in modern society." (Foreward.) The opening section is devoted to "The Communicators and Society," particularly the current status of the mass media, a review of the main areas of criticism of their performance, and the interrelationships among the media. This is followed by "The Historical Perspective" of mass media, with chapters devoted to their technical growth and to their major functions. The major portion of the book is devoted to "The Mass Communications Industries and Professions," including newspapers, magazines, books, radio, television, and film, with special chapters devoted to the press, advertising, public relations, and information writing. The closing section is concerned with "Education for Mass Communications." Professional opportunities, not only in journalism but in other mass media, and the necessary training for professional careers are stressed throughout.

Considerable concrete data are presented. The descriptions of the scope, types, functions, trends, problems, and prospects of mass media are concise, yet with sufficient details to present the story and to provide a basis for the analysis of current trends and conditions. The selected and annotated bibliography provides a wealth of source material, and each chapter contains questions and projects for further study. Even though the book is essentially designed as a text, it is a valuable source book for those who have professional interests in mass media of communication and for all persons concerned about the vast extent and influence of the mass communications industries of the United States.

Chapter 17, on Mass Communications Research, written by Dr. Jack B. Haskins, is of special interest to social scientists. Mass communications research is conceived of broadly as behavioral research, and the importance of interdisciplinary studies is stressed. The major kinds of studies are those dealing with readership, audience measurement, graphic methods of presentation, advertising, public opinion, content analysis, effects of communication, and the nature of communicators. Most of the types of research enumerated involve fairly standardized research techniques. The necessity for creative research, designed to develop new and original research techniques and methods to solve particular problems, is stressed.   M.H.N.

THE THOUGHT OF REINHOLD NIEBUHR. By Gordon Harland. New York: Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. xviii+298.

The purpose of this book is to interpret the whole range of Reinhold Niebuhr's thought against the background of the major events of our time. The author makes no attempt to summarize all the writings concerned, but points up some of the more representative theories and principles which give unity to the whole. For example, Niebuhr emphasizes for their significance in Christianity self love, mutual love, and sacrificial love. The norm of sacrifical love is the love of the Cross. The person and work of Christ, and the doctrine of incarnation and atonement provide the perspective from which Niebuhr views man in history.

Niebuhr realizes that man's awareness of self derives from his awareness of others, and thus man senses his own insecurity, that is, he does not possess within himself the basis of his own life. Man has his being in relationships, involving constant dialogue with others. The dialogues are of three levels—of the self with itself, of the self with others, and of the self with God. For the Christian the dialogue with God finds its norm and form in the revelation in Jesus Christ. This self-others-God

interrelatedness of love, culminating in the sacrificial love of the Cross, is fundamental in Niebuhr's mind even when analyzing the latest political event, or problems of economics, war and peace, or race. It is basic in his conception of justice, which he defines as love finding a relatively complete expression in the world.

Other basic concepts explained and illustrated include humility, prayer, the community, democracy, authority, sin, secularism. However, the concept of *agape*, which denotes heedless, sacrificial, or sin-bearing love, seems to be fundamental to the structure of Niebuhr's social thought and especially in his functional conception of Christianity in Western culture. Niebuhr has become so preeminent as a social and religious leader that this short interpretation serves well as an introduction to the man and his range of thought, but readers will, it is hoped, consult the original works for their own reward.   J.E.N.

MÉMOIRE DU XIXe CONGRÈS INTERNATIONAL DE SOCIOLOGIE: Vol. II: Communications. Mexico, D. F.: Comité Organisateur du XIXe Congrès International de Sociologie, 1960, pp. 9+380.

This volume contains the bulk of the communications delivered recently during the sessions of the XIXth International Congress of Sociology held under the auspices of the Institut International de Sociologie. Some of the communications have been published in separate format ("A Quest for an Integral System of Sociology," by Pitirim Sorokin among others) and will probably also appear in the proposed first and third volumes of the *Mémoire* to be accompanied by the discussions which turned upon the communications contained in the second volume.

Like all texts of this nature, the communications vary in merit. A considerable number of the communications are by nonspecialists and while in some instances their contributions lend verve and vitality to what often is an occasion for esoteric formalization, there are instances where scientific detachment and insight are substantially narrowed by antecedent quasi-philosophical commitments (I should not like to have to defend the thesis that members of the discipline are always less subject to this disability). Professor Alexandre Lipschuetz, as a physiologist and endocrinologist, supports his sociological thesis with the lucubrations of "sociologists" of such dubious merit as Karl Marx ("Invalidez explicativa del llamado factor biologico en el encuentro entre blanco e indio en la conquista Española de America"). Dr. Andrew Weinberger, as a jurist, renders a summary history of the

conflict of interests prior to the Civil War in terms of "the conscience of the nation" ("The Dynamic Status of the Negro Population in the United States"), with no mention made of the dynamic regional tensions generated by the trade and tariff regulations subsequent to the War of 1812.

On the other hand, the contribution of Professor Freedman, as an experimental psychologist, affords suggestive insights into the animal analogues of human behavior ("The Flight Response and Critical Periods in Social Development"). The brief essay by Professor Emeritus Karl Pribram, who has earned a deserved place in the history of social philosophy with his mongraph, *Die Entstehung der individualistischen Sozialphilosophie* (Leipzig, 1912), is instructive and suggestive.

Many of the communications are informative in a discursive sense: Professor Juan Yepes del Pozo's "Sociologia Latino-Americana," Professor Tomio Yonebayashi's "La Famille et le groupe parenté au Japon," and Professor Robert C. Williamson's "Adolescence in a Transitional Society: Perception of Social Class and Related Values in a Salvadorean Sample" instruct the reader in specialized areas of application.

In general it can be said that the communications are characterized by their integralist temper. The effort toward interdisciplinary rapprochement is evidenced in almost every communication. Many of the communications are manifestly efforts in theory construction, i.e., "macrosociology." Professor Angel Paredes tenders an analysis of colonization and decolonization ("Teorias de la colonizacion y de la descolonizacion"), Professor Hilmi Uelken, an outline of the neo-organicist theory of society ("Esquisse d'une théorie néo-organiciste de la société"). Similarly, the communications of Professors Alfredo Poviña, France Govaerts Marques Pereira, Salvador Bermudez Castro, and A. James Gregor all bear heavily on theory building.

The volume is particularly interesting because the bulk of the communications are Latin-American in origin. Considerable insight is afforded, as a consequence, into the working techniques and interests of academicians South of the Rio Grande. Even those communications which are not of the highest caliber are of significance in this respect. The volume commands attention not only on the merit of the several communications but also because it is indicative of the nature and work of the Institut International de Sociologie, which under the leadership of Professor Emeritus Corrado Gini has displayed a vitality that does honor to its distinguished past.   A. JAMES GREGOR
Washington College, Maryland

COMMUNICATION EFFECTS ON ATTITUDES TOWARD INDIA. A
Social Comparison Experiment. By Martin Brouwer and Annie van
Bergen. Amsterdam: 1960, pp. 58+49 pp. appendices.

One of UNESCO's major concerns is the desire to improve the
mutual appreciation of Eastern and Western nations. To bring this
about, attitudes must be changed in a favorable direction. The medium
of mass communication is one very accessible means of changing attitudes
on a large scale. Measuring the communication effects, however, becomes
a major task.

This book reports an experimental pilot study sponsored by
UNESCO's Social Science Division that was designed "to study the
characteristics of various attitude measuring instruments, and their
suitability for registering attitude changes." Sixteen hundred Dutch
high school students, ages 12 to 16, from twenty public schools in
Amsterdam were chosen for subjects and the experiment was carried
out in school classes. The class in a school, rather than the individual
student, was regarded as the main unit of measurement for statistical
analysis. Two movies from India "with rather contrasting contents
were selected for the experiment." At the same time, two tape-recorded
word pictures, along the lines of the two movies, were used as third
and fourth communications. Five scaling instruments, characterized
primarily by the method of item selection, were chosen and modified to
meet the requirements of the experiment. They were the Thurstone, the
Likert, the Bogardus, the Osgood five-step, and the Osgood seven-step.
The instruments were administered so that various methods of data
analysis would be feasible. They were applied in all possible permutations
of two for the purpose of inter-instrument comparison with identical
subjects. Thus, each subject received two different scales by which to
register his attitude toward India both before and after the communica-
tion was presented. As a control, each student was given the same scales
again, only his attitude toward another country was measured. To the
background variables of age and sex, a rough measurement of attention
to the communication was attained by using a checklist of 20 items, 5
of which referred to the actual contents of the communication while 15
did not.

As hypothesized, there was a difference in effect upon the subjects
between the two movies and their corresponding word pictures. One
movie and a word picture produced unfavorable attitudes toward India
as measured by all five scales, while the other movie produced favorable
attitudes as measured by four scales, the remaining scale showing an
unfavorable change. A critical analysis of this fifth scale was undertaken

to determine the reason for lack of agreement with the other four. There were no changes in attitude toward the other country as measured by these scales.

The authors give a clear comparison of the various scaling techniques and the advantages and disadvantages in the use of each of these scales. The report is concluded with helpful suggestions for further research along this line of investigation. This publication contains many valuable insights and merits the careful attention of investigators, particularly research workers, who are interested in the experimental use of different scaling techniques.   HOUSHANG POORKAJ

Youth Studies Center
University of Southern California

POLITICS AND CULTURE IN INTERNATIONAL HISTORY. By Adda B. Bozeman. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960, pp. xiv+560.

The concept of One World in the Western image, or that of two worlds in combat—the Communist and the free—involves confusion of myth and reality which needs objective analysis. The author points out that the unifying Western value system has had an "official acceptance" in some non-Western parts of the world, yet it has fostered the development of what may be called "split cultures" where societies, wavering between two frames of reference, are approaching a state of sociological neurosis. The effort to unify the world by the propagation of a common vocabulary has yielded considerable intellectual confusion in both national and international affairs. The real affinities and differences between the various cultural and political systems of the present world society can be understood only after a thorough exploration of the historic sources of all significant patterns of political thought and behavior. Concepts of peace, war, unity, authority, freedom, and many other terms have different cultural and national meanings. How, then, may peoples arrive at some common denominator for the development of international relations?

For an understanding of non-Western systems of politics and culture, they should be identified with their pre-Western incarnations; and the Western system, in turn, should be reviewed as it existed before it was projected into foreign realms. Only when each of the disparate political systems presently represented in the world is recognized in its intrinsic substance will it be possible to understand the various patterns that their mutual relations have assumed. Separate stories of cultural development would thus be required, and this book brings them down to the critical epoch of their fusion, around 1500 A.D.

The analysis of fundamental elements in international relations among historic cultures and empires is developed in four major sections. Part I, The Ancient Near East and India, deals with the characteristics of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Assyria and Chaldea, Persia, the Greek City-states, the empire of Alexander the Great and the Hellenic system of states, also the intercultural relations of Greece and India. Part II surveys the imperial systems of China and Rome. Part III deals with the changing perspectives of Christianity and Islam during the Middle Ages. Part IV surveys international history as observable in the world society of modern times.

Throughout the study, political and cultural elements are dealt with in terms of reality instead of our illusions concerning them. All of the cultures studied possess more ideas and values in common than one would expect, and thus there actually exists a cultural base for the development of mutual understanding and a more effective system of international relations. China and Rome, for example, were geographically far apart and their communication as ancient empires was limited, yet both of them experienced much that was comparable in religion, politics, economics, education, and in various policies pursued. Different as countries may be in their mode of life, there are important similarities in thought and behavior which provide a bridge for a better world order.

This book is in a sense an international history, but not in the vein of those written by Wells, Barnes, Thorndike, Wallbank, and many others. It is unique in the nature of its insight and interpretation. The author and publishers may justly take pride in its quality of scholarship. In this day of international conflict and opposition, the message of the author should appeal to many readers.   J.E.N.

A MODERN INTRODUCTION TO THE FAMILY. Edited by Norman W. Bell and Ezra F. Vogel. Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1960, pp. li+691.

As an introduction to the sociology of the family, this volume merits serious consideration. In the introduction, the editors present a tentative theoretical frame of reference for the functional analysis of the family. This is used as the basis for a systematic organization of a variety of family phenomena. The fifty-one articles and essays that are used were selected within this conceptional context. Each selection is preceded by a brief editorial statement which ties the readings together and completes the approach to the subject. The problems of the family are analyzed in terms of structure and function. The editors agree with Murdock and

others that the nuclear family is found in all societies and that it is a stable point of reference for the systematic analysis of family life. An attempt is made to "spell out the patterned relationships and processes in those structures existing within the family, between the family and broader social units, and between the family and personality."

The readings are divided into four main groups. In the first part, which is introductory, the selections deal mainly with the universality of the nuclear family, the variations in the human family, the Russian attempts to abolish the family, the Israeli Kibbutz and India Nayar systems, and the stability of the American family. The next section is devoted to the relation of the family to external systems—economic, political, community, and values systems. This is followed by a section on the internal processes of the family, especially the adaptive, coordinative, integrative, and pattern-maintaining types. The final section is devoted to a consideration of the relation between the family and personality. Here, again, the adaptive, coordinate, integrative, and pattern-maintenance functions are stressed. The readings stress either the influence of the family on external systems and personality or the reverse influence, or the reciprocal relationships. The family is not regarded as an isolated unit but as an integral part of a larger society.

The material was drawn from a variety of sources, but in organization and emphasis the book is a good example of a sociological approach to the study of the family. It is useful either as a textbook or as a supplementary source book.   M.H.N.

MAGIC: Its History and Principal Rites. By Maurice Bouisson. Translated from the French by G. Almayrac. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1961, pp. 319.

The author says this book presents simply a page in the history of comparative religions. It is truly an interesting page. He describes magical rites as scenes in a drama of many vicissitudes, and they are described in the setting in which they arose. The plan of the work is indicated by its three major divisions. Part I deals with three forms of magic—sympathetic magic, incantation magic, and talismanic magic. Part II is devoted to a short history of magic. It is concerned with various notions of the Devil, demonology, the alchemists, the epoch of witchcraft trials, secret societies, miracles, and modern occultists. Part III deals with the reality and spiritual value of magic, and presents interpretations and examples of magic and medicine, the influences of

suggestion and concentration, suggestion and reality, snake charmers, and the influence of magic in the evolution of religious thought. This part attempts to answer such questions as: How can strange and sometimes terrifying rites grow up in a human society? How much reality is there in magical powers? Have the abnormal effects of magical practices or those of sorcery been confirmed by reliable evidence after methodical checking of this evidence?

The scope of this treatise ranges from the animistic sources of magic among primitive peoples to its functions in more advanced cultures today in the United States and throughout the world. It is an informative and truly fascinating book.   J.E.N.

COMMUNITY STRUCTURE AND CHANGE. By Lowry Nelson, Charles E. Ramsey, and Coolie Verner. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1960, pp. xiii + 464.

"In the study of community," says the preface to this volume, "a problem is not something to which a theory is applied but indeed a fact of the theory itself." This thought-provoking statement is in keeping with the general tone of the book. Its authors have a relaxed style with which they present a rather eclectic assortment of middle-range theory, concepts, reports of empirical research, problems, and related facts of social organization and social change in American communities in a topical sequence. There is no need to list all of the twenty-two topics treated; however, they can be grouped under the headings of ecology (in Quinn's sense), social psychology, social organization, institutional structure, social change, and community development, all set in the context of the study of American community life.

Community Structure and Change does not propose to present a systematic theory; it is primarily a survey of materials in the area. In a book which presents as many fresh points of view as this one does, there are almost certain to be some features with which individual readers will disagree; yet even the disagreement may be stimulating. The sociologist who has become bored with rephrasing of oft-repeated ideas in textbooks will find himself stopping to read and consider reflectively some of the statements which are found in this one. That is not to say that the text is obscure; quite to the contrary, it is clearly suitable reading for undergraduate students.   T.E.L.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY. Three Volumes. By Arthur W. Calhoun. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc., 1960, pp. xxxviii+1254.

This classic study of the historical development of the American family is now available in the "University Paperbacks" series. Published originally in 1917-1919, in three volumes, it was reprinted in one volume in 1945, and now again in three volumes. Volume I covers the "Colonial Period," Volume II the period "From Independence Through the Civil War," and Volume III "From 1865 to 1919." No other history of the American family has equaled this study of sexual codes, marriage traditions, family roles and status; the family as an economic, educational, moral, and spiritual institution; and the relation of the family to the state, industry, and society, When it was originally published there was very little authentic material on the subject, and it is still regarded as a landmark in the study of the family as a social institution.   M.H.N.

BOOK NOTES

THE RESEARCH FUNCTIONS OF UNIVERSITY BUREAUS AND INSTITUTES FOR GOVERNMENT-RELATED RESEARCH. By Dwight Waldo, Editor. Berkeley: University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1960, pp. 222.

In this "Report of a Conference," a number of related papers in political and governmental science are published. Most of them emphasize the functions of research in various aspects of public and community life, but sociologists will be especially interested in the paper by Frank A. Pinner on Notes on Method in Social and Political Research. The author discusses two meanings of the term, "theory," and gives attention to a so-called "system" theory in political science, with illustrations. He concludes by surveying "some of the more recent research techniques" for translating theory into practical research.

A PREFACE TO THE STUDY OF UTOPIAS. By Buell G. Gallagher. Yellow Springs, Ohio: The Antioch Press, 1960, pp. 20.

The author refers to 41 "major Utopias" and 260 "mionr Utopias," and defines a Utopia as "a particular type of intellectual outlook and pattern of thinking which is directed toward change and improvement in social arrangements," in other words, "a picture of a better world." It

is "the dynamic for social change" and "the source of any lasting hope," for "ideas, when they become ideals, can change history."

CHARTING NEW PATHWAYS TO GROWTH. Proceedings of the 22nd Biennial Congress of The Cooperative League. Chicago: The Cooperative League, 1960, pp. 163.

This document contains some outstanding materials that look to the future of the cooperative movement in the United States. Emphases were placed on building public understanding and acceptance of cooperatives, on unlocking communication between cooperators and noncooperators, on emphasizing cooperatives for urban populations, on the cooperation of cooperatives, on the basic economic interest of all the American people, namely, that of being consumers. Considerable attention was given, and properly so, to "the cooperative image," what it is, and how it may be improved. Noteworthy papers were presented not only by sociologist Raymond Mack of Northwestern University but also by Jerry Voorhis, Murray D. Lincoln, S. I. Hayakawa, and others. The usefulness of the *Proceedings* could have been increased by an index or at least a table of contents.

THE FACTS OF AMERICAN LIFE. Edited by M. B. Schnapper. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. 420.

About 3,000 questions are asked and answered very briefly in this book regarding various aspects of American life, such as American Ways of Life, the American Economy, American Labor, American Science, American Health, American Education, American Culture, and America and the World. A well-developed and detailed index makes this book widely usable.

YOUR INALIENABLE RIGHTS. By Philip B. Yeager and John R. Stark. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960, pp. 274.

Approximately 200 questions are raised and answered to the average extent of about a page each regarding the rights of the individual in the United States in such fields as personal affairs, in the home, in society, in criminal situations, in property matters, in courts, in government, in life and death. A helpful and essential index is included. Perhaps it would have been more accurate if the book had been called Your Legal Rights, but it does not pretend to take the place of an attorney for its readers.

THE DIVORCE HANDBOOK. By Florence Haussamen and Mary Ann Guitar. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1960, pp. 256.

"The purpose of this book is not to make divorce easier, but to make it more easily understood." Some of the subjects treated are divorce counseling, substitutes for divorce, the separation agreement, and migratory divorce.

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